

DATE LABEL

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
1, Park Street, CALCUTTA-16.

The Book is to be returned on
the date last stamped :

9388
27 AUG 1964
20 MAY 1965

INDIAN CASTE.

BY THE LATE

JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S.,

HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, AND
SOME TIME VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY,

MISSIONARY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

TIMES OF INDIA OFFICE,
BOMBAY.
WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS,
EDINBURGH & LONDON.
1877.

All rights reserved.

BOMBAY : PRINTED AT THE TIMES OF INDIA STEAM PRESS.

NOTE.

WHEN Dr. Wilson died in December 1875, he left no instructions as to the future disposal of the work on *Caste* on which he had been engaged at intervals for the last twenty years of his life. A cursory inspection of the vast mass of papers which Dr. Wilson left led me to hope that ample material existed for a continuation of the work, if not for its absolute completion. Accordingly, after a delay caused by the necessity of going through all the papers for purposes connected with the winding up of the Estate, all those that seemed to appertain to Dr. Wilson's literary activity were sent to Mr. Andrew Wilson, into whose hands the task of completing the Book from material existing in manuscript would naturally have fallen. But the result of a careful investigation was to satisfy the family that nothing would be gained by attempting to add materially to the work as Dr. Wilson left it; and, accordingly, I was requested to have it brought out without further delay.

Dr. Wilson had finally corrected the whole of the first volume of the work, and the second volume as far as the end of page 184. The material for pp. 184-228 of the second volume, completing the account of the Brahmanical castes, existed partly in type, partly in manuscript. But these pages were not revised by the Author.

I should perhaps mention that a portion of the first volume has been in type since 1857.

An index of names and the more important subjects has been added.

PETER PETERSON, M.A.

Elphinstone College,

1st October, 1877.

CONTENTS.

PART FIRST—What Caste is.

PAGES.

9—12 SECTION I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

12—17 SECTION II. THE MEANING, SPHERE, AUTHORITY AND SYMBOLS OF CASTE.

17—53 SECTION III. ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE FOUR ORIGINAL CASTES.

The Brahman. His four orders. Present pretensions of the Brahman. The Kshatriya. The Vaishya. The Shudra.

53—72 SECTION IV. ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE MIXED CASTES. Manu's account. Maratha Tabular View. Conservative Spirit of Orthodox School.

73—211 SECTION V. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN CASTE.

Notices in the Rig Veda. The Aryas and Dasyus. The Early Priesthood. The Rishis. The Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The Shudras. The God Brahma. Caste no systematic institution of the Aryas. The Purusha Sukta. Notices in the Sama Veda. In the Yajur Veda. The Purusha Medha. Notices in the Atharva Veda. In the Brahmanas. Aitareya Brahmana quoted. Legend of Sunahshepha. Notices in the Aranyakas and Upanishads. In the Sutras. Recapitulation.

212—277 SECTION VI. CASTE IN THE INDIAN EPICS.

The Ramayana. The Mahabharata.

CONTENTS.

PAGES.

278—315 SECTION VII. THE BUDDHIST VIEW OF CASTE.

Buddha. Date of his death. His doctrines. Buddhist Literature. Buddha's Relations to Caste. The Vajra Shuchi and Skanda Purana. The Jainas.

315—353 SECTION VIII. A PEEP AT INDIAN SOCIETY BY THE GREEKS.

Herodotus. Arrian.—Alexander's expedition. Megasthenes. His classification of the Indians. Strabo. Ptolemy.

354—418 SECTION IX. CASTE IN THE LAW BOOKS AND LATER INDIAN LITERATURE.

List of Smritis. Substance of that of Augiras. Manu. The Mitakshara. The Parashara Smriti. The Mayukha.

418—422 SECTION X. CASTE IN THE HARIVANSHA.

422—450 SECTION XI. CASTE IN THE PURANAS.

List of the Puranas. Notices of Caste in the several Puranas.

INDIAN CASTE.

PART FIRST.—WHAT CASTE IS.

I.—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

PRIDE of ancestry, of family and personal position and occupation, and of religious pre-eminence, which, as will be immediately seen, is the grand characteristic of "Caste," is not peculiar to India. Nations and peoples, as well as individuals, have in all countries, in all ages, and at all times, been prone to take exaggerated views of their own importance, and to claim for themselves a natural and historical and social superiority to which they have had no adequate title. That spirit which led many of the olden tribes of men to consider their progenitors as the direct offspring of the soil on which they trode, as the children of the sun moon and other heavenly bodies in whose light they rejoiced, and as the procreations or manifestations of the imaginary personal gods whom they worshipped, has been very extensive in its influence throughout the world. The higher communities and classes of men, ungrateful to Providence for their advantages when real, have often looked with contempt and disdain on the lower ; while the lower have looked with envy, jealousy, and depreciation on the higher. Comparatively few individuals, indeed,

except under the liberalizing and purifying influences of our holy faith, have been able sincerely to adopt the language of the Roman poet,

*Nam genus et proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco ;**

or of the Roman orator, "Quanto superiores sumus, tanto nos geramus submissius."† Who maketh us to differ? and what are the responsibilities of our respective positions? have been questions but seldom put and made the subject of distinct recognition. The existence of a common brotherhood in the human family, and the practice of a common sympathy and succour, have by the majority of men been grievously overlooked. Tyranny and mischief and cruelty have been most extensively the consequence of antisocial presumption and pretension. The constant experience of the general observer of human nature has been not unlike that of the Hebrew sage, Agur, the son of Jakeh :

There is a generation that are pure in their own eyes,
And yet is not washed from their filthiness.
There is a generation, O how lofty are their eyes !
And their eyelids are lifted up.
There is a generation whose teeth are as swords,
And their jaw-teeth as knives,
To devour the poor from off the earth,
And the needy from among men.‡

It is among the HINDUS, however, that the imagina-

* For descent and lineage, and the things which we ourselves have not accomplished : these I scarcely call our own. Ovid.

† The loftier that we really are, the more humbly let us conduct ourselves. Quintilian.

‡ Prov. xxx. 12-14.

idea of natural and positive distinctions in humanity has been brought to the most fearful and pernicious development ever exhibited on the face of the globe. The doctrine and practice of what is called CASTE, as held and observed by this people, has been only dimly shadowed by the worst social arrangements which were of old to be witnessed among the proudest nations and among the proudest orders of men in these nations. The Egyptians, who, according to Herodotus, considered themselves "the most ancient of all nations," and who are described by him as "excessively religious beyond any other people," and "too much addicted to their ancestral customs to adopt any other,"* most nearly approached them in their national and family pretensions, and the privilege and customs of priests and people viewed in reference both to descent and occupation; but in the multitude, diversity, complication, and burdensomeness of their religious and social distinctions, the Hindus have left the Egyptians far behind. Indian Caste is the condensation of all the pride, jealousy, and tyranny of an ancient and predominant people dealing with the tribes which they have subjected, and over which they have ruled, often without the sympathies of a recognized common humanity. It is the offspring of extraordinary exaggeration and mystification, and of all the false speculation and religious scrupulosity of a great country undergoing unwonted processes of degeneration and corruption. It is now the soul as well as the body of Hinduism.† More than anything that ever came within

* Herodot. Euterp.

† This is admitted by the natives of India. E. g., Gangādhara Shāstri Phadaké, in the *Hindu-Dharma Tatva* (p. 76), says या भरतखंडनि

the sphere of the observation of our own great poet, Shakespeare, it is

“That monster Custom, who all sense doth eat
Of habits devil.”

It is dishonouring alike to the Creator of man, and injurious to man the creature. It is emphatically the curse of India and the parent of India's woes. It is the great enemy of enlightenment and improvement and advancement in India. It is the grand obstacle to the triumphs of the Gospel of peace in India. Its evil doings of late, it is not too bold to say, have moved earth below and heaven above and hell beneath. With its terrible deeds before us proclaiming its hate and power, attention may well be bestowed on its origin, developments, character, and results, and on our own duty with respect to its continued influence on Indian society.

II.—THE MEANING, SPHERE, AUTHORITY, AND SYMBOLS OF CASTE.

CASTE is not an Indian word. Its original form, *casta*, belongs to the Portuguese, by whom it was ordinarily used among themselves to express “cast,” “mould,” “race,” “kind,” and “quality.” It was applied by the Portuguese, when they first arrived in the East, to designate the peculiar system of religious and social distinc-

हे जातिभेद अहिंसा या योगाने हा हिंदुधर्म फार सुरक्षित राहिला आहे . . . हे जाति-
भेद हा हिंदुधर्माचा मुख्य पाया आहे; हा ज्या काळीं दांसखेल त्या काळीं निखालस हिंदुधर्म
बुडेल यांत संशय नाही—It is by means of these Caste distinctions that in
the Bharatkhand the Hindu religion has been so well preserved. . . .
These Caste distinctions are the chief support of the Hindu religion;
when it (this support) gives way there can be no doubt that the Hindu
religion will sink to destruction.

tions which they observed among the Hindu people, particularly as founded on race.* The Indian word which partially corresponds with Caste is *Játi*, equivalent to the Latin *gens*, (in the inflected form *gent*—) and Greek *γένος*, “race or nation ;” while *Játi-bheda*, the representative of the foundations of the caste-system, means the “distinctions of race (*gentis discrimina*.)” *Varna*, another word used for it by the Hindus, originally meant a difference in “colour.” Gradually these Indian words, conveniently rendered by CASTE, have come to represent not only varieties of race and colour, but every original, hereditary, religious, instituted, and conventional distinction which it is possible to imagine. Caste has its peculiar recognitions,—though of a discordant character,—of creation, formation, constitution, and birth, in all varieties of existence and life, whether vegetable, brutal, human, or superhuman. It gives its directions for recognition, acceptance, consecration, and sacramental dedication, and *vice versa*, of a human being on his appearance in the world. It has for infancy, pupilage, and manhood, its ordained methods of sucking, sipping, drinking, eating, and voiding ; of washing, rinsing, anointing, and smearing ; of clothing, dressing, and ornamenting ; of sitting,

* Thus, in describing the people of Malabar, Camoens (*Lusiad*, Cant. vii. 37) says :—

A lei da gente toda, rica, e pobre
De fabulas composta se imagina :
Andam nós, e sómente hum panno cobre
As partes, que a cobrir natura ensina :
Dous modos ha de gente ; porque a nobre
Naires chamados são ; e a menos diua
Poleás tem por nome ; a quem obriga
A lei não misturar a casta antiqua :

rising, and reclining ; of moving, visiting, and travelling ; of speaking, reading, listening, and reciting ; and of meditating, singing, working, playing, and fighting. It has its laws for social and religious rights, privileges, and occupations ; for instructing, training, and educating ; for obligation, duty, and practice ; for divine recognition, service, and ceremony ; for errors, sins, and transgressions ; for intercommunion, avoidance, and excommunication ; for defilement, ablution, and purification ; for fines, chastisements, imprisonments, mutilations, banishments and capital executions. It unfolds the ways of committing what it calls sin, accumulating sin, and of putting away sin ; and of acquiring merit, dispensing merit, and losing merit. It treats of inheritance, conveyance, possession, and dispossession ; and of bargains, gain, loss, and ruin. It deals with death, burial, and burning ; and with commemoration, assistance, and injury after death. It interferes, in short, with all the relations and events of life, and with what precedes and follows, or what is supposed to precede and follow life. It reigns supreme in the innumerable classes and divisions of the Hindus, whether they originate in family descent, in religious opinions, in civil or sacred occupations, or in local residence ; and it professes to regulate all their interests, affairs, and relationships. Caste is the guiding principle of each of the classes and divisions of the Hindus viewed in their distinct or associated capacity. A caste is any of the classes or divisions of Hindu society.

The authority of Caste rests partly on written laws, partly on legendary fables and narratives, partly on verbal tradition, partly on the injunctions of instructors and priests, partly on custom and usage, and partly on the

caprice and convenience of its votaries. "The roots of law," says Manu, "are the whole Veda, the ordinances and observances of such as perfectly understand it, the immemorial customs of good men, and self-satisfaction." "No doubt that man who shall follow the rules prescribed in the *Shruti* [what was heard, from the Veda] and in the *Smriti* [what was remembered, from the Law] will acquire fame in this life, and in the next inexpressible happiness." "Custom is transcendent law."* The rules, and customs, and prejudices, and breaches, and offences, and concessions, and intermissions, and compromises of Caste are numerous and capricious, and complicated beyond conception. They are constantly characterized by pride and folly, and frequently by wickedness.

Caste has its marks, and signs, and symbols, and symbolical acts, as well as its laws and customs; and very great stress is laid by it on their constant exhibition. The grand index of Hinduism is the tuft of hair on the crown of the head,—called in Sanskrit *chúclá*, or *shikhá*, in Maráthí *shendli*, and in Tamul *kudamé*,—which is left there on the performance of the sacrament of tonsure, on the first or third year after birth in the case of the three first classes of the Hindus.† In consequence of this mark, Hinduism is popularly known as the *Shendli-dharma*, or religion of the *Shendli*.‡ In the eighth year after the conception of a Bráhmaṇ (the representative of the priestly class), in the eleventh from that of a prince or *Kshatriya*, and in the twelfth from that of a *Vish* or *Vaishya*, the agriculturist and mer-

* Manu, ii. 6; ii. 9; i. 108.

† See Manu, ii. 35.

‡ See Molesworth's Maráthí Dictionary, sub voc.

chant, the investiture with the sacred cord should occur ;* though this sacrament, in the case of these classes particularly eager for its special blessings, may be resorted to by them in their fifth, sixth, or eighth year respectively.† It should never be “delayed in the case of a *Bráhmaṇ* beyond his sixteenth year ; nor in that of a *Kshatriya*, beyond his twenty-second ; nor in that of a *Vaishya* beyond his twenty-fourth.‡ This investiture must be hallowed by the communication of the *Gáyatrí*, the verse of the Vedas esteemed most sacred. The parties who neglect it are to be reckoned apostates and outcasts,§ with whom no connexion is to be formed either in law or affinity, even by *Bráhmans* distressed for subsistence. The sacrificial strings of each class have to be formed after a fashion prescribed in the Law Books. Certain orders as to the clothes to be worn, and the staves to be carried, issued as authoritative in ancient times are now in abeyance, though long established custom reigns supreme in these matters. The brow of every Hindu must be marked, at least when he is in a state of ceremonial purity, with various pigments indicative of his particular caste, and sectarial connexions as a worshipper of particular gods and goddesses in their varied forms.¶ These marks are spots and dots and figures of particular size and shape, and lines horizontal and vertical, as the caste regulations may require. An engraving

* Manu, ii. 36.

† Manu, ii. 37.

‡ Manu, ii. 38.

§ पवित्रा ब्राह्मण. Manu, ii. 39.

¶ “He, who not entitled to distinguishing marks yet lives by wearing such marks, takes to himself the sins of those who are entitled to such marks, and shall be born from the womb of a brute animal.” Manu, iv. 200.

illustrative of some of them is given in one of the plates of Moor's Hindu Pantheon. They suggest to a Christian an apt illustration of the figurative expression of the Book of Revelation, the "mark of the beast in the forehead."

III.—ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE FOUR ORIGINAL CASTES OF THE HINDUS.

According to the opinions of the Hindus deemed by them orthodox, the original Castes were four in number,—that of the *Brāhmans*, or priestly class; that of the *Kshatriyas*, or warrior class; that of the *Vaishyas*, or Mercantile and Agricultural class; and that of the *Shūdras*, or Servile Class.

"For the sake of preserving the universe," says Manu, "the Being supremely glorious allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot. To *Brāhmans* he assigned the duties of reading [the Veda], and teaching it, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, and of receiving gifts.* To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read [the Veda], to shun the allurements of sexual gratification, are in a few words, the duties of a *Kshatriya*. To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, are the duties of a *Vaishya*. One principal duty the Supreme Ruler assigns to a *Shūdra*; namely, to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depre-

* These are the Six constituted Works of the *Brāhmans*, technically denominated by them गजर्त, गजन, दान, शनिग्रह, अध्यायन, and अध्या-
4न.

ciating their worth.* A similar origin and similar duties are ascribed to the Four Castes in the Shānti Parva of the Mahābhārata;† in the Matsya, Bhāgavata, and several others of the Purāṇas;‡ in the Jāti-Mālā, or Garland of Castes, of authority in Bengal and the Upper Provinces of India, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke;§ in the Jāti-Viveka, or Discrimination of Castes, of authority in the West of India;|| and in the Sahyādri Khanda of the Skanda Purāṇa, the great practical authority of the Marāṭhā Brāhman.¶ This, in fact, is the view taken of the origin of the four classes by the Caste system now prevalent throughout the whole of India. All other passages of the Shāstras, with representations on the subject of a different character,—and such there are in abundance,

* Manu i. 87-91. In this and other quotations from the Hindu Law Book, I mainly follow Sir William Jones, omitting such of his expletives as are not warranted by the text, and bringing the renderings sometimes closer to the original.

† Mahābhārata, Shānti Parva adh. 72. v. 2723. Different accounts of the origin of Caste are given in other works, including the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, which, to use the words of Dr. John Muir, (Original Sanskrit Texts p. 37) “is made up of very heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages, and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies which have been thrown together by the successive compilers or editors of the work without any regard to their mutual consistency.”

‡ In the Matsya (adh. 4), Vāmdeva is the name given to the god (*bhagavān*, “the worshipful”) who (as Brahmā, according to the context) created the Castes:—*वामदेवस्तु भगवानसृजन्मुखतो द्विजान् राजन्यान् सृजन्वाहोर्विष्टं शूद्रान् रूपपादयोः*. In the Bhāgavata, the most orthodox view of the origin of Caste is given in Skanda iii. adh. v. 33-34.

§ Colebrooke's Essays, vol. ii. p. 177.

|| There are two forms of this work now before me, the larger and smaller.

¶ Sahyādri Khanda, A'di Rahasya, Chap. 25.

as will afterwards appear—are contorted and interpreted in the light of the dogmas here announced. Caste, to the present day, adheres to its claims as set forth in Manu, without essential compromise or concession.

To understand the subject of Caste, then, we have to keep the statements now quoted constantly in view. For the same purpose, we have to look to the information given in detail in the Shástras of the Hindus respecting the prerogatives, privileges, and duties of these the primary divisions of Caste, and which is still approved and acted upon, with very slight modifications in form, throughout the whole country. This we attempt concisely to do.

1. We give a miniature picture, in the first instance of the *Bráhmaṇ*.

The Shástras dwell much on the pre-eminence of the Bráhmaṇ, both by birth and original endowments, above all the other classes of man. “Since the Bráhmaṇ sprang from the most excellent part, since he was the first born, and since he possesses the Veda, he is by right the chief of this whole creation.” “Him, the Being who exists of himself produced in the beginning from his own mouth, that, having performed holy rites, he might present clarified butter to the gods, and cakes of rice to the progenitors of mankind, for the preservation of this world. What created being then can surpass Him, with whose mouth the gods of the firmament continually feast on clarified butter, and the manes of ancestors, on hallowed cakes? The very birth of Bráhmaṇs is a constant incarnation of Dharma, (God of religion;) for the Bráhmaṇ is born to promote religion, and to procure ultimate happiness. When a Bráhmaṇ

springs to light, he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures, assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religious and civil. Whatever exists in the universe, is all in effect, the wealth of the Brāhman, since the Brāhman is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth. The Brāhman eats but his own food; wears his own apparel; and bestows but his own in alms: through the benevolence of the Brāhman indeed, other mortals enjoy life.”* His inherent qualities, however sparingly they may be developed, are “quiescence, self-control, devotion, purity, patience, rectitude, secular and sacred understanding, the recognition of spiritual existence, and the inborn-disposition to serve Brahma.”† In every member of his body, power and glory are resident. The purifying Ganges is in his right ear; his mouth is that of God himself; the devouring fire is in his hand; the holy *tīrthas*, or places of pilgrimage are in his right foot;‡ the cow-of-plenty (*kāmadhenu*) from which all desires may be satisfied, is in the hairs of his body. The Brāhman is the “first-born,” by nature (*agrajama*); the “twice-born” (*dvīja*), by the sacrament of the *maunji*; the “deity-on-earth” (*bhūdeva*), by his divine status; and the intelligent one (*vipra*), by his intimate comprehension.§

* Manu, i. 93-95, 98-101.

† Bhagavad-Gītā, xviii. 42.

‡ These are among the common synonyms of the Amarkosha. Khanda ii, brahmvarga 4.

§ The following verse from the Tīrtha Mahātmya has become popular:—

पृथिव्यां यानि तीर्थानि तानि तीर्थानि सागरे ।
सागरे सर्वं तीर्थानि पदे विप्रस्य दक्षिणे ॥

All the *Tīrthas* in the world are in the ocean ;

All the *Tīrthas* in the ocean are in the Brāhman's right foot.

The Bráhmaṇ, thus exalted in original position, is according to the Shástra, superior to all law, even of a moral character, whenever it clashes with his wordly interests. Even truth and honesty must be dispensed with for his peculiar advantage. “In the case of sensual gratifications,” says Manu, “of marriages, of food eaten by cows, of fuel for a sacrifice, of benefit or protection accruing to a Bráhmaṇ, there is no sin in an oath.”* “A Bráhmaṇ” says the same authority, “may live by *ṛita* and *amṛita*, or by *mṛita* and *pramṛita*, or even by *sat-yámṛita* (truth and falsehood); “but never let him subsist by dog-living” (hired service.)† “A Bráhmaṇ may without hesitation take the property of a Shúdra. He (the Shúdra) has, indeed, nothing of his own : his master may, doubtless, take his property.”‡ To this injustice, too, the most horrid cruelty may in his case be added ; for of the most barbarous treatment of the lower orders, and, unbecoming leniency to Bráhmans, the Hindu sacred writings are in no degree ashamed. They actually enjoin this atrocious despotism. “A priest shall be fined five hundred (*panas*), if he slander a soldier ; twenty-five, if a merchant ; and twelve, if he slander a man of the servile class. For abusing one of the same class, a twice-born man shall be fined only twelve ; but for ribaldry not to be uttered, even that shall be dou-

Hence, the readiness to taste the water in which a Bráhmaṇ has washed his foot. In the Padma Parána (Kriyá yadnasára, xx) it is said,

विप्रपादोदकं यस्तु कणमाहवन्नरः देहस्थं पातकं तस्य सर्वमेवाशु नश्यति ॥

—The bearer of a drop of water which has been in contact with a Bráhmaṇ’s foot has all the sins of his body thereby destroyed.

* Manu, viii. 112.

† Manu, iv. 4.

‡ Manu, viii. 417.

bled. A once born man, who insults the twice-born with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit; for he sprang from the lowest part of Brahmá. If he mention their name and class with contumely, as if he say ‘Oh! Devadatta’ (useless gift of God!) an iron style, ten fingers long shall be thrust red hot into his mouth.” “Should he, through pride, give instructions to priests concerning their duty, let the king order some hot oil to be dropped into his mouth and ear.”* “A man of the lowest class, who shall insolently place himself on the same seat with one of the highest, shall either be banished with a mark on his hinder part or the king shall cause a gash to be made on his buttock; should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both of his lips to be gashed; should he...[decency requires the suppression of what here follows.] If he seize the Bráhman by the locks, or by the feet, or by the beard, or by the throat, or by the scrotum, let the king without hesitation cause incision to be made in his hands.”† Ignominious tonsure is ordained, instead of capital punishment, for an adulterer of the priestly class; while the punishment of other classes in this case may extend to loss of life. “Never shall a king slay a Bráhman, though convicted of all possible crimes; let him banish the offender from his realm; but with all his property secure and his body unhurt. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Bráhman; and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest.”‡ “A Bráhman, who, by his

* Manu, viii. 268-272.

† Manu, viii. 281-3-28.

‡ Manu, viii. 379-381.

power and through avarice, shall cause twice-born men, girt with the sacrificial thread, to perform servile acts, with their consent, shall be fined by the king six hundred *panas*. But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he may compel to perform servile duty ; because such a man was created by the self-existent for the purpose of serving Bráhmans. A *Shúdra*, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude : for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested ?”* The Bráhmaṇ, even, is the adjudicator in his own cause, and need make no complaint to royal authorities for the punishment of his enemies, it being left free to himself to take vengeance.†

The Bráhmans, as themselves the great authors of the preceptive parts of the Hindu Shástras, have no feeling of shame whatever in stating their pretensions and urging their prerogatives. Only they must now read and interpret the Veda, which they profess to be the highest revelation of the will of God. Their wrath is as dreadful as that of the gods in heaven. They and their wives, and daughters, are to be worshipped as gods on earth.‡ They allege that they have in many instances,

* Manu, viii. 124-14.

† Manu, xi. 31-32.

‡ सर्वथा ब्राह्मणाः पुण्याः परमं देवं हितुः. “In all ways, Bráhmans are to be worshipped: they are a Supreme Divinity.” Mann, ix. 318. In the Padma Purāṇa (*Kriyá yadnasára*, xx) it is said, “The good man who worships a Bráhmaṇ, moving round him to the right hand, obtains the merit of himself going round the seven *dwipas* (insular continents) of the world.” In the same work, it is said, that “immoral Bráhmans are to be worshipped, but not *Shúdras* though subduing their passions: the cow that eats things not to be eaten is better than the sow of good intent.”

kicked, and beaten, and cursed, and frightened, and degraded the highest deities, and distressed and destroyed their children. One of their number, *Kashyapa*, they tell us, was the parent of the sun, and another, *Attri*, of the moon. Others of them, they hold, wrought great marvels in creation and formation. *Brihaspati*, the instructor of the gods, is said by them to have turned the moon into a cinder, for two kalpas of enormous length; and to retain his power over it by covering it with rust, when it assumes a ruddy appearance. *Vishvakarma*, they declare, clipt off the hands and feet of the sun, to make it round, and cut it also into twelve pieces, in which it appears in the twelve signs of the zodiac. The same individual, the architect of the gods, they assert, formed heaven; and another of his caste manufactured a child of grass, which *Sítá*, the wife of *Râma*, could not distinguish from her own son. *Kashyapa*, already mentioned, they make, through his different wives, the parent of fowls, of beasts of prey, of buffaloes, cows, and other cloven-footed animals; of hawks, vultures, and other similar birds; of the *Apsaras*, or water-nymphs, serpents, and other reptiles; of trees; of evil beings; of the *Gandharvas*, and of animals with hoofs,* He, also, they tell us, made fire; while *Bhṛ̥ṅgu* imparted to it its property of consumption; and *Sapta* gave it its capability of extinction; and *Agastya*, the great *Brâhman* missionary to the South of India, swallowed up the ocean at three sips, and then passed it impregnated with salt. The achievements of the great *Brâhman*s here referred to are thus alluded to by the Hindu lawgiver:—"Who without perishing could pro-

* *Bhâgavata Purâna*, vi. 6 : 25-28.

voke those holy men by whom the all-devouring fire was created, the sea with waters not drinkable, and the moon with its wane and increase? what prince could gain wealth by oppressing those, who, if angry, could frame other worlds and regents of worlds, and could give being to new gods and mortals? What man, desirous of life, would injure those by the aid of whom worlds and gods perpetually exist."* The following syllogism has gained universal currency in India :—

The whole world is under the power of the *gods*,
 The gods are under the power of the *mantras*,
 The *mantras* are under the power of the *Bráhma*n ;
 The *Bráhma*n is therefore our God."†

These fabrications, which appear to us so ridiculous, were intended to secure to the Bráhmans veneration and awe. The endeavour, also, has been made in the Shás-tra to secure to them their lives. They must not be killed, as we have seen, for the most enormous offences. When an individual weeps for any person whom they may have killed, he must make an atonement for his infirmity. The goddess Durgá is pleased with the blood of a man a thousand years ; but no Bráhma

n must be sacrificed to her. Garuḍa, the bearer of Viṣṇu, used to eat every sort of creatures, except Bráhmans, who, if swallowed, would have caused an insufferable pain in his stomach, as is said to have been exemplified on a particular occasion. While Shúdras may offer themselves as sacrifices by what is called the *Kámya maraṇa* (voluntary

* Manu, ix. 314-316.

† देवाधीनं जगत् सर्वं मंत्राधीनं च देवतं ।
 ते मंत्रा ब्राह्मणाधीना ब्राह्मणो मम देवता ॥

death), Bráhmans are not required to make any such consecration of themselves. "A twice-born man," says Manu, "who barely assaults a Bráhman with an intention to hurt him shall be whirled about for a century in the hell named *Támisra*; but having smitten him in anger, and by design, even with a blade of grass, he shall be born in one and twenty transmigrations, from the wombs of impure quadrupeds."* Life, however, must not only be preserved exceptionally for the favoured; but it must be rendered comfortable. The Bráhmans get all the offerings made at the temples; and the most heinous sins are atoned for by giving them presents. If a man sell his cow, he will go to hell; if he give her in donation to a Bráhman he will go to heaven. If on Gangá's anniversary whole villages be given to Bráhmans, the person presenting them will acquire all the merit which can be obtained: his body will be a million of times more glorious than the sun; he will have a million of virgins, many carriages, and palanquins with jewels; and he will live in heaven with his father as many years as there are particles in the land given to Bráhmans. Land given to Bráhmans secures heaven; a red cow, a safe passage across the boiling infernal river, *Vaitaraní*; a house, a heavenly palace; an umbrella, freedom from scorching heat; shoes, freedom from pain when walking; perfumes, freedom from offensive smells; feasting of Bráhmans, particularly at births, marriages and deaths, the highest merit. If a house be defiled by an unclean bird sitting down upon it, it becomes pure when presented to a Bráhman. A proper gift to a Bráhman on a deathbed will

* Manu, iv. 165-166.

secure heaven to a malefactor. The Bráhmans oblige the other castes, in fact, when they condescend to receive their presents.* Money given to them should be dipped in water, lest the latent glory of their hands should burst forth and consume the donor.†

Most obvious is it that the legislation of the Bráhmans, embracing such matters and supported by such legends as those now alluded to, has originated exclusively with their own body. Its partialities, and preferences, and prejudices are of the grossest character. Along with these enormous faults, however, it is but fair to look at the strict discipline, continuous ceremoniousness, and rigid austerities, which in certain circumstances,—associated with numerous puerilities,—it has prescribed for its favourites.

In the first *Aśhrama*, or Order, that of the *Brahmachári*, or Pupil, the Bráhman boy, must render the greatest reverence and attention to his priestly instructor, observing constant oblations, and practising unceasing restraints of his appetites. His religious exercises must commence with the morning twilight; and, except during the times of study and eating, they must be con-

* The imparting of gifts (*dána*) is quite a science according to the institutions of Caste, which, as far as this matter is concerned, are collected and explained, in all their particularities, in the Law Book entitled the *Dána Mayukha*.

† In thus mentioning the pretensions of the Bráhmans, I have availed myself of and expanded the notices contained in my two Exposures of Hinduism in reply to Brahmanical controversialists. To natives of India acquainted with the Maráthi language I would warmly recommend Mr. Nesbit's tract on the Bráhman's Claims, which appeared after the Exposures were published, and in which some of the popular aspects of the subject are commented on in a telling way.

tinued throughout the day. "Let the twice-born youth," it is said, "who has been girt with the sacrificial cord, collect wood for the holy fire, beg food of his relations, sleep on a low bed, and perform such offices as may please his preceptor, until his return to the house of his natural father."* With devotion and austerities he is ordered to study the Vēda. He is commanded to abstain from honey, flesh, perfumes, garlands, vegetable juices, women, acidulated substances, the killing of animated beings, unguents for his limbs, black powder for his eyes, wearing sandals, using an umbrella, sensual desires, wrath, covetousness, dancing, singing, dice, disputes, detraction, and falsehood.† He is enjoined to sleep alone, and to perform the duty of a religious mendicant.

In the second Order, that of the *Grīhastha* or Householder, after the Brāhman has chosen, or got chosen, for his wife, a girl whose form has no defect, who has an agreeable name, who walks like a goose,‡ or young elephant, whose hair and teeth are moderate in quantity, and whose body is distinguished by softness, and who, in the case of the first marriage at least, should be of the Brāhman class§ he should live with her in the strictest fidelity, giving her elegant attire, though not from the most exalted motive,¶ seeking to raise up a family, embracing especially a son, without whom, na-

* Manu, ii. 108. The other statements here made are on the authority of the context.

† Manu, ii. 167-178.

‡ Sir W. Jones makes this a phenicopteros, or adjutant bird. The Sanskrit, however, is *hansa*, a goose.

§ Manu, iii. 12, 17, etc.

¶ Manu, iii. 68.

tural or adopted, the salvation of a father cannot be effected.* He has to practise unceasingly various minute and burdensome rites and ceremonies, connected with study ; oblations to fire ; the presentation of food to spirits, through animated beings, particularly the "twice-born;" the entertainment of Bráhmancial guests ; and the offering of rice and water to the manes of ancestors.† At the *Shráddhas*, or reverential feasts and services performed either for ancestors or for gods, he has to avoid inviting or holding intercourse with parties labouring under any disease, deformity, impotency, or defect (held under the doctrine of the metempsychosis to be the consequence of past crimes), despising Bráhmancial institutes, or following employments uncongenial with the Bráhmancial doctrines and practices, or guilty of crime.‡ During the feasting, he has to preserve his mind in absolute composure, for the shedding

* Though the Sanskrit for son, is *putra*, the reciprocal word for *pitar*, (*Lat. pater* a father,) the following fanciful derivation of it, founded on this doctrine, is given by Manu, (ix. 138) :—" Since the son delivers (*tráyaté*) relieves his father from the hell named *put*, he was therefore called *putra* by Brahmá himself !"

† Manu, iii. 70, et seq.

‡ Among the parties thus to be avoided are the attendants upon images (*dévalaka*), the sellers of flesh, the party supporting himself by traffic, a young brother married before the elder or vice versâ, a dancer, the husband of a Shúdra, the pupil or preceptor of a Shúdra, a seller of the mogn-plant (used in sacrifices), a navigator of the ocean, an encomiast, an oilman, a maker of bows and arrows, a father instructed in the Véda by his son, a tamer of elephants, bulls, horses or camels, an astrologer, a keeper of birds, a breeder of sporting dogs, a shepherd, a keeper of buffaloes, the husband of a twice-married woman. Manu, iii. 159-167.

of a tear would send the messes before him to restless spirits ; anger, to foes ; falsehood, to dogs ; contact with the foot (*pada-sparsha*), to Rākshasas ; and agitation, to scoundrels.* At the same time, he has to regale his silent guests with readings from the Vēda, from the institutes of law (*Dharma-Shāstra*), from stories, from historical poems (*Itihāsa*, generally applied to the Mahabhārata²), from antiquities (*Purānas*), and from other scriptures.† At these ceremonial offerings animal food, to be ate by the company, is declared to be of more avail in the work of propitiation than vegetables, a fact which the Brāhmans of the present day are shy in admitting.‡ He has to be most particular about the times of the month and day of his religious services. “He must live, with no injury, or with the least possible injury, to animated beings, by pursuing those means of gaining subsistence which are strictly prescribed by law, except in times of distress.”§ He has to keep his hair, nails, and

* Manu, iii. 230.

† Ibid. iii. 232.

‡ “The ancestors of men are satisfied a whole month with *tila*, rice, barley, black lentils or vetches, water, roots, and fruit, given with prescribed ceremonies ; two months, with fish ; three months, with venison ; four with mutton ; five, with the flesh of *such* birds as the twice-born may eat ; six months, with the flesh of kids ; seven, with that of spotted deer, or the antelope, called *éna* ; nine with that of the *ruru* ; ten months are they satisfied with the flesh of wild boars and wild buffaloes ; eleven with that of rabbits or hares, and of tortoises ; a whole year with the milk of cows, and food made of that milk ; from the flesh of the long-eared white goat, their satisfaction endures twelve years.” Manu, iii. 267–271.

§ Manu, iv. 2. The fourth chapter in many respects corresponds with the third. They appear to me to have originally belonged to two different Codes.

beard clipped, his passions subdued ; his mantle, white ; and his body pure.* He must not gaze on the sun whether rising or setting (unless in religious services), or eclipsed, or reflected in water, or advanced to the middle of the sky. He must be reserved in his intercourse with his wife, and neither eat with her, nor see her eating. He must neither dishonour earth, nor fire, nor water. He must not dwell under the government of a Shúdra. He must neither dance nor sing, nor play on musical instruments or with dice. He must not use the clothes or vessels which have been used by another, till they are purified. The beasts with which he travels must be sound, and well trained ; and he must never bestride a member of the bovine race. He must not cut his own nails or hairs. He has to be sober in his speech and conduct. He has to accept gifts only from Kshatriyas and Vaishyas ; and never from Shúdras.† He has to observe religious ceremonies at night (when awake), and at morn, noon, and evening. He has to keep at a distance from the destroyers of animals and vegetable seeds not simply used in food. He must suspend the reading of the Védas during thunder, rain, earthquakes, and other atmospheric and terrene changes and movements. He must intermit the reading of the Véda for a day and night when a beast of labour, a frog, a cat, a dog, or a snake passes between him and his pupil.‡ He is commanded to abstain from iniquity, lest he

• * Manu, iv. 35-37.

† This is not now the case, as will be afterwards explained.

‡ I once asked a learned Pandit, what inference he was disposed to draw from this injunction. He very adroitly said, "I should infer that the teacher and pupil should sit very closely together."

should be punished for it either in his own person or in those of his descendants. His moral duties he has to prefer to his ceremonial acts, though great exceptions, elsewhere noticed, are made to this rule. He is not permitted to take food from a servile man, except raw grain for a single night when it may be necessary for the support of his life. He has to be liberal in giving gifts to those deserving of benevolence, and he is not to be too proud of his charity. "By falsehood, sacrifice becomes vain; by pride, austerities go for nought; by the dishonour of priests, life is diminished; and by the display of charity, its fruit is destroyed."* In regard to food, the householder, as well as other Bráhmans, has to show the greatest scrupulosity. He must avoid eating garlic, onions, leeks, and mushrooms,† and all vegetables raised in dung, though the vegetable processes know no impurity; red gums and resins, supposed to be like the blood of animals; and carnivorous birds and quadrupeds, and many others of different orders. He might, according to one law, partake of the hedgehog, porcupine, some species of lizards, hares, and all quadrupeds, camels excepted, which have

* Manu, iv. 204. See authorities for the preceding statements in the context.

† It is difficult to see the reason of the interdiction of the use of these vegetables, unless perhaps it is to be found in their strong smell, especially when imperfectly cooked. The crime of eating them seems to have been a peculiarly heinous one with the Hindu legislators. "The twice-born who has intentionally eaten a mushroom, the flesh of a tame-hog, or a tame-cock, a leek, or an onion, or garlic, is degraded immediately." Atonements are available for undesigned eating. Manu, v. 19-20.

but one row of teeth.* According to another, he might use considerable latitude in the use of flesh-meat : —“No sin is committed by him who, having honoured the deities and the manes, eats flesh-meat which he has bought, himself acquired, or had presented to him by another.”† Yet, without these religious rites, he would contract great sin by encouraging the slaughter of animals, which, in the main, is strongly disapproved of by the legislators and not now generally resorted to.‡ He has to submit to great inconveniences from ceremonial defilement caused by the birth and death of relatives and connections of various degrees, and by the touch of the lowly Chāṇḍāla, and of all parties in a state of ceremonial impurity.§ The duties prescribed for the Brāhman householder, in short, are such as must keep him ever busy, ever on the alert, and ever scrupulous and cautious.

The *Vānaprastha*, the Hermit of the Wilderness, the Brāhman in the third *Aśrama*, must be a vast deal more selfdenied and restricted than the Householder. At the approach of old age he must abandon his family and

* Manu, v. 18.

† Manu, v. 32.

‡ The general doctrine of Manu on this subject may be understood from the following passages :—“Flesh-meat cannot be procured without injury to animals, and the slaughter of animals obstructs the path to beatitude; from flesh-meat therefore let man abstain. He who consents to the death of an animal, he who kills it, he who dissects it, he who buys it, he who sells it, he who dresses it, he who serves it up, and he who makes it his food; these are eight principals in the slaughter.” Manu, v. 48-51.

§ Manu, v. 85, et seq. For the special laws on these matters, see the Mayukha under *Shaucha* and *Ashaucha* (purity and impurity).

worldly affairs. He must not only feed on herbs, fruits, and roots, but use them in sacrifice. He must wear a black antelope's hide, or a vesture of the bark of a tree ; and suffer his hair, beard, and nails to grow continually. He must be constantly engaged in reading the Vêda, and in other religious exercises. His devotion must be varied by austerities. "Let him slide backwards and forwards on the ground ; or let him stand a whole day on tiptoe ; or let him continue in motion rising and sitting alternately ; but at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset, let him go to the waters and bathe. In the hot season let him sit exposed to five fires ; in the rains let him stand uncovered where the clouds pour the heaviest showers ; in the cold season (when the evaporation caused by the dry air is excessive) let him wear humid vesture ; and let him encrease by degrees the austerity of his devotion."* Abandoning the use of all means of gratification, he must for the purpose of uniting his soul with the Divine Spirit, engage in meditation, and study the sacred *Upanishads*, or philosophical pantheistic treatises. Shuffling off his body, if he is attacked by disease by any of these means,—he is given to understand,—he will rise to exaltation in the divine essence.†

The *Sannyâst*, or Anchorite, in the fourth *A'shrama*, has to improve upon the course now mentioned, practising contemplation, however, more than austerities. Delighted with meditating on the Supreme Spirit, being fixed in such meditation, without needing anything earthly, without one sensual desire, without any compan-

* Manu, vi. 22-23.

† Manu, vi. 32, etc.

ion to his own soul, let him live in this world seeking the bliss of the next, "absolute absorption." "His hair, nails, and beard being clipped, bearing with him a dish, a staff, and a waterpot, his whole mind being fixed on God, let him wander about continually, without giving pain to living beings,"* either vegetable or animal. Once a day only he has to ask for food; and that ought to be at a late hour. Meditating [in gross delusion] on the identity of his own spirit with that of the Supreme, and seeking reunion, he is to be ready cheerfully to leave the cumbersome and miserable body.†

The profession by the Bráhmans, that, with certain nonessential modifications, they have still this sacred character, and that they follow these injunctions, esteemed divine, gives them a powerful hold of the mind of India, quite independently of their pretensions to pre-eminence which we have noticed at the commencement of this heading. Its natural effects are often too little regarded in the estimate of the religious and social forces by which we are surrounded in India. With Bráhmanical discipline and pursuits, there is much sympathy, even on the part of those large portions of the community which are legally debarred from participating in them. There is an admiration and approval of the Bráhman among the people, as well as much dread and distrust of him, and contempt of him for his extravagant claims in connexion with his status and prerogatives. Hence,

* Manu, vi. 49-52.

† The notice taken of the four *áshrams* in the Puráṇas, is quite accordant with that of the Law Books. See, for example, Wilson's Vishnu Purána, pp. 294-296.

the attempt, in late centuries especially, of multitudes precluded from all priestly services, to become wandering saints and devotees of various orders and grades. There is very great deference shown to the Bráhmaṇ, even in the view of the fact that he is now left without a legal remedy for enforcing in his own behalf the unjust laws which he has made connected with his own life, honor, and support. I add another observation to this remark. I have a strong impression on my mind that a great deal of the Bráhmaṇical legislation was, from the first, intended only for effect, and that it was never designed to be carried into execution as far as the priestly practice itself was concerned. An intelligent native writer in the Calcutta Review justly says, "Those who arrogate to themselves great honors, must at least profess to be guided by a more elevated standard of duty than their neighbours. A man who prides himself on the greatness of his origin must admit, that it behoveth him to observe higher principles of morality, than those over whom he affects superiority. The Bráhmaṇs have accordingly laid down severe rules for the government of their order. Whether the authors of the 'Shástras intended, that their austere rules should be followed out in practice, or whether they merely proposed to exhibit their idea of priestly dignity without intending to realize it, it is not easy to determine. One thing, however, is certain, that as the Bráhmaṇ acknowledged no earthly superior, he had little apprehension of his delinquencies being severely visited. He could not be called to account for departing from his maxims, because no one was at liberty to judge him. An austere rule of life could therefore prove no greater restraint on his in-

clinations, than he himself [or the priestly community of which he was a member] chose to allow.*”

2. From the Bráhmaṇ, we pass to the *Kshatriya*, the Warrior, or rather, as will be afterwards explained, the Ruler or Prince.

According to the orthodox view of Caste, the *Kshatriya* is derived from the arms of the god Bráhmá,† in the same way as the Bráhmaṇ is derived from his head. This explanation of the origin of the *Kshatriya*, however, is not consistently adhered to, even in the Law Books, which are the great support of the Caste system. In the seventh chapter of the Code of Manu, which is evidently intended for the use of the ruling authorities, the creation and glory of the prince is thus set forth:—“Since the world destitute of a king quaked on all sides, the Lord created a king for the maintenance of this system, both religious and civil, forming him of eternal particles‡ drawn from [the gods]• Indra, Anila (Váyu), Yama, Arka (Súrya), Agni, Varuṇa, Chandra, and Vittésa (Kuvera): and since a king was composed of particles drawn from these chief guardian deities, he consequently surpasses all beings in glory. Like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts; nor can any human creatures on earth gaze on him. He is fire and air; he, both sun and moon; he the god of retributive justice (Yama); he the god of wealth (Kuvéra); he the regent of waters (Varuṇa); he the lord of the firmament. A king, even though a child, must not be

* Calcutta Review, 1851, p. 53.

† See above, page 17.

‡ *Mátrá* in the singular, corresponding (etymologically) with the Latin *materia* and our own *matter*.

treated lightly, from an idea that he is a mere mortal; no, he is a powerful divinity who appears in human-shape.”* “The natural duties of the Kshatriya,” according to the Bhagavad-Gītā, “are heroism, splendour, pertinacity, policy, not fleeing in battle, liberality, and fitness to govern.”† Other views of his creation and glory will afterwards fall to be alluded to. The Brāhmins, while setting forth their own pre-eminence and superiority, knew how to flatter the powerful and wealthy of their own race, in varied ways not very consistent with the general dogmatic announcements which were most consistent with the religious system which they sought to uphold.

The Kshatriya, according to what has now been said, is set forth in the Law Books as the essence of majesty and power; and as the great dispenser of justice, particularly in the matter of punishment, of which he is the personal manifestation (*puruṣhodaṇḍa*), and which, though needed both by gods and men, is to be leniently applied to Brāhmins.‡ He is to be the protector of the various Castes attending to their prescribed duties.§ In discharging his functions, he has to abide by the decision of learned Brāhmins.¶ He must cultivate humility and be warned by the examples of kings who, in the lack of it, have involved themselves in ruin. He is enjoined to seek sacred and secular knowledge from the Brāhmins, and

* Manu, vii. 3-8. Some of the gods here mentioned are contemplated in aspects different from those in which they are exhibited in the Védas.

† Bhagavad-Gītā, xviii. 43.

‡ Manu, vii. 17-32.

§ Manu, vii. 35.

¶ Ibid. vii. 37.

to avoid various kinds of immoralities and sensualities. He is recommended to choose eight ministers, some of whom are to be versed in the sacred books, and others, in the art of war. The ambassador (*dūta*) selected by him should be skilled in all the Shāstras. He should live in a capital surrounded by a desert, and otherways difficult of approach, and well-defended by fortifications, his own palace being in its centre. His wife should be of his own class (*varṇa*), and of good descent and agreeable person. He must appoint a domestic priest (*purohita**), and be liberal in sacrifices and in gifts to Bráhmans. "An offering in the mouth of a Bráhman," he is told; "is far better than offerings to holy fires; it never drops; it never dries; it is never consumed."† In battle he must be brave, resolute, and generous. He must subordinate to one another the various districts in his realm. He must raise taxes from his subjects according to their means; but, though even dying with want, he must not receive any tax from a Bráhman learned in the Védas, while at the same time he must suffer no such Bráhman to die of hunger.‡ The season of the year most favourable for weather and crops, he must choose for his warlike campaigns. His troops he has to march in varied lines, and according to varied figures, with considerable skill, forming, when thought expedient, a van, a rearguard, and a mainbody, and also wings and a centre. His ordinary soldiers,—who it would appear, might have been of varied tribes and castes,—he was to dispose of in battle according to their capacities. "Men born in Kurukshetra, in Matsya, in Pan-

* Literally, a foreman.

† Manu, vii. 84.

‡ Manu, vii. 133.

chála, and in Shúraséna," he is required to engage in the van, and "other men who are tall and light."* He has to respect the deities and Bráhmans of conquered countries, and to appoint over them a prince of his own race (*vansha*). To his neighbours who support his cause, he has to practise kindness; and for self-preservation, he has to be ready to part with his dominions and even with his family when required. "Against misfortune let him preserve his wealth; at the expense of his wealth, let him preserve his wife; but at all events let him preserve himself, even at the hazard of his wife and riches."† His

* Manu, vii. 193.

† Manu, vii. 213. The principle here involved is applied to all classes of the Hindus as well as to Kshatriyas. The Bráhmans have embodied it in the following Sanskrit proverb:—

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेत् दारैरपि धनैरपि ।
पुनर्दा पुनर्वित्तं न शरिरं पुनः पुनः ॥

"Preserve your wife, preserve you self;
But give them both to save yourself:
There's other wealth, another wife;
But where is there another life?"

By a slight change (by a Pandit from the West), this wise-saying can be reversed in favour of the poor wife:—

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेत् भर्तावापि धनेन वा ।
पुनर्भर्ता पुनर्वित्तं न शरिरं पुनः पुनः ॥

"Preserve your man, preserve your self;
But give them both to save yourself;
There's other wealth, and other men;
But who shall see this life again?"

For a short comment on these verses, see a paper by the late Rev. R. Nesbit in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, Sept. 1842.

religious and domestic duties he has to attend to in their own relations. After ablution he has to eat at noon, taking food prepared by faithful servants skilled in the differences of times (lucky and unlucky), and hallowed by texts repulsive of poison. He may then divert himself with his women in the inner apartments, taking due care, however, lest he should be betrayed by them. At sunset, after having performed his religious duty, he should deal with spies and emissaries in retirement.* When unable personally to inspect his affairs, he may commit the superintendence of them to a Bráhmaṇ.† From the Bráhmaṇ, but never from a Shúdra, he has to seek the interpretation of law. “Of that king, who stupidly looks on while a Shúdra decides causes, the kingdom shall sink like a cow in deep mire.”‡ The king is the guardian of all property, including that of minors, and the owner of the half of treasure-trove (the other half belonging to Bráhmans), except that found by a learned Bráhmaṇ, who may take it without any deduction, as he is the lord of all. He also receives the wealth of all other classes on the failure of heirs, except that of Bráhmans, which must go to their own community without, in any case, being escheated.§ He is the upholder of the Caste laws, and customs of the various classes of the community,¶ in so far as practised by good men and virtuous Bráhmans, and not inconsistent with local usages. In the dispensation of justice, the king himself is not to be made a witness; and he has also to make an exemption,

* Manu, vii. ad finem.

† Manu, viii. 9.

‡ Manu, viii. 21.

§ Manu, iv. 189.

¶ Manu, viii. 37-38.

generally, in the matter of giving testimony to certain classes of people, some of whom are thought too humble, and some too great, to appear as witnesses.* He has to order the administration of oaths, or ordeals, to competent witnesses, with considerable solemnity from the Indian point of view; with a due regard to the comparative dignity of Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras; and with the recognition of injury said to accrue both to ancestors and posterity from the speaking of falsehood, except when a pious motive intervenes, when this sin is found not to be contracted even by perjury.† The legislation by which he is to be guided, in these matters, to use the words of Sir William Jones, is “a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks; it is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy, with idle superstitions, and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative, and consequently liable to dangerous misconception; it abounds with minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd and often ridiculous; the punishments are partial and fanciful; for some crimes dreadfully cruel, for others reprehensibly slight; and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole, are, in one or

* Among the latter class are specified in Manu, (viii. 65) the learned in the three Védas, Brāhmans waiting on the sacred fire, and religious devotees who have abandoned the world. It is in consequence of the principle here involved that the Bhātyá and other native merchants of Bombay are claiming the right of their high-priests (*Mahdríjas*, or great kings!) to decline attendance on the courts of law.

† Manu, viii. 66-112. See also above, p. 21.

two instances, (as in the case of light oaths and of pious purjury) [just alluded to] unaccountably relaxed.* It is interesting to notice, in the view of these faults and defects, that, in regard to the boundaries of property, evidence taken is to be recorded in writing;† and that the lowest classes of the population may be useful in giving testimony in this matter. Punishments inflicted are to descend with violence inversely as the station in caste of the offenders. A Kshatriya defaming a Bráhma-man shall be fined a hundred [*panas*]; a Vaishya, an hundred and fifty, or two hundred; but a Shúdra [acting in this way] shall be corporally punished. A Bráhma-man shall be fined fifty, if he slander a Kshatriya; twenty-five, if a Vaishya; and twelve, if a Shúdra.‡ Fines for theft are to be inflicted in proportion to the status in Caste of the party offending.§ Adultery is to be treated with much severity, the punishment being a cruel death to be inflicted on the lower orders transgressing with the higher. Punishments by kings are said to form atonements for the guilty. “Men who have committed, and have received from kings the punishment due to them, go to pure heaven, and become as clear as those who have done well.”¶ This dictum, which removes man from his responsibility to God, has taken a great hold of the popular mind in India. Native musicians attend the capital executions of the vilest criminals throughout the country, seeking to introduce them into the other world with joy and rejoicing, simply be-

* Preface to the Institutes of Manu. † Manu, viii. 255-266.

‡ Manu, viii. 267-268. § Ibid. 337-8. ¶ Manu, viii. 313.

cause they view their death by the public sentence of the law as an atonement for all their transgressions.

It is the duty of the princely Kshatriya to keep the Castes below himself close to the works respectively prescribed for them. He should order the Vaishya to practise trade, or money-lending, or agriculture and attendance on cattle; and the Shúdra to act in the service of the twice-born. It is incumbent upon him to regulate all market prices, with a due regard to the interests of the buyer and seller.* This principle of Caste law is the foundation of the demand often made on government to interfere in matters of sale and trade. The doctrines of Adam Smith were not in vogue when the laws attributed to Manu were reduced to a Code.

It is also the duty of the Kshatriya to aid the male portion of the community in maintaining its lordship over the female portion. This is a matter of much consequence with the Hindus; and it is so intimately connected with Caste that it may be proper onwards to devote to it a separate section of this work.

3. Leaving the Kshatriya, in the meantime, we proceed to notice the *Vaishya*, who is the Cattle-keeper, the Agriculturist, and the Merchant.

In a passage in the Code of Manu, already referred to, it is said that "to keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land are the

* Manu, viii. 401. Difficulties in regard to this matter are often felt by our own officials, particularly in the matter of grain. For hints as to the removal of these difficulties, see Colonel Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i. chap. 24.

duties of a *Vaishya*.”* “The natural duties of the *Vaishya*,” says the *Bhagavad-Gítá*, “are agriculture, keeping of cattle, and the practice-of-merchandise.”† Respecting these duties, indeed, without any hints as to their comparative importance, the information of the later Sanskrit books is throughout self-consistent.

In the Law Books, the general ordinances affecting the *Vaishya* are such as the following. After performing the initiatory sacraments, ending with that of the sacrificial thread, and marrying a wife of his own class, he should be attentive to his proper business, especially that of cattle-keeping, which he is by no means to overlook, as the Lord-of-men has committed cattle to his trust in the same way as he has committed men to that of the *Bráhmaṇ* and the *Kshatriya*. He must never say, “I keep charge of no cattle;” nor must others supersede him in this charge while he is willing to undertake it. With the prices of mercantile commodities he has to be acquainted, especially of gems, pearls, coral, iron, cloth, perfumes and liquids. He has to be skilled in sowing seeds, in the qualities of land, in weights and measures, in the excellence and defects of articles of traffic, in the advantages and disadvantages of different districts, in the probable gain and loss on goods, in the breeding of cattle, in the wages of servants, in the various languages of men,‡ in the best places for keeping

* See above, p. 17, where the words “to cultivate lands” are, by an error, omitted.

† *Bhagavad-Gítá*, xviii. 43.

‡ This intimates a diversity of language in Ancient India, and perhaps in the bordering countries holding intercourse with it.

goods, and in all measures for effecting purchase and sale. The augmentation of his wealth should command his vigilant care and solicitude, while he is attentive to the giving of nourishment to all sentient creatures.* Considerable intelligence and ingenuity seem to have been requisite for the Vaishya's duties. Let this be marked as an indication of the state of society when the Hindu Law Books were composed.

4. We conclude this sketch by referring to the legal position of the *Shúdra*.

In illustration of this position, especially when compared with that of his great master, the Bráhmaṇ, some notices have already been given by us. The principal duty assigned to the Shúdra is that of serving the Bráhmaṇ, the Kshatriya, and the Vaishya, especially the Bráhmaṇ, for whose advantage, principally, he has been created. Throughout the Law Books, he is viewed as a domestic slave, to whom servitude is natural and of which he cannot be divested, and whose property even is at the disposal of his master.† From his daily engagements in the family of his superiors, it is obvious that ceremonial ablution was not required to be the consequence of simple contact with him. His religious degradation, however, is complete according to Hindu legislation. On the Bráhmaṇ the following injunctions are laid in Manu :—"Let him not give advice to a Shúdra, nor (except to his own servant) what remains from his own table ; nor clarified butter of which part has been offered (to the gods), nor let him

* Manu, ix. 326-333.

† See above, pp. 17, 21, 23. Manu viii. 413-414. x. 121-123.

give spiritual counsel to such a man, nor inform him of the legal expiation for his sin. Surely he who declares the law to a servile man, and he who instructs him in the mode of expiating sin sinks with that very man into the hell named *Asamvrita*.* A Bráhmaṇ is never to be the preceptor of a Shúdra.† While the first part of a Bráhmaṇ's compound name should indicate holiness; of a Kshatriyá's, power; and of a Vaiśhya's, wealth,—that of a Shúdra should indicate contempt‡. The Vēda is never to be read in the presence of a Shúdra;§ and for him no sacrifice is to be performed.¶ “He has no business with solemn rites.”** “They who receive property from a Shúdra for the performance of rites to consecrated fire are condemned, as ministers of the base.”†† His gifts, now so acceptable to the Bráhmaṇ, were received of old only in the most limited degree, when the Bráhmaṇ, who had no other means to live, might take from him raw grain enough for a single night.‡‡ In one law, it is thus written:—“Shúdras, engaged in religious duties, must perform each month the ceremony of shaving their heads; their food must be the orts of Bráhmaṇs; and their mode of purification the

* Manu, iv. 80-81. Sir William Jones, partly on the authority of Kullúka Bhatta, a modern commentator on Manu, has here made some interpolations inconsistent with the passage as referring to Bráhmaṇs, and with its context.

† Manu, iii. 156.

‡ Manu, ii. 31.

§ Manu, iv. 99.

¶ Manu, iii. 178.

** Manu, xi. 13.

†† Manu, xi. 42.

‡‡ Manu, iv. 222. In Manu xi 24. it is said, “Let no Bráhmaṇ ever beg a gift from a Shúdra; for if he perform a sacrifice after such begging, he shall, in the next life, be born a Chándála.”

same with that of a Vaishya ;”* but this legislation is not consistently regarded. “A Bráhmaṇ is purified by water that reaches his bosom ; a Kshatriya, by water descending to his throat ; a Vaishya, by water taken into his mouth ; a Shúdra, by water touched by an extremity.”† Graduation in Caste, indeed, is preserved in every act and in every ceremony. While, for example, the stick with which a Bráhmaṇ rinses his teeth, is to be twelve inches long ; that of a Kshatriya is to be eleven ; that of a Vaishya, ten ; and that of a Shúdra, nine. When a Bráhmaṇ, to remove a natural defilement, is to make five applications of clay ; a Kshatriya is to make four ; a Vaishya, three ; and a Shúdra, and a woman, two.‡ Much is to be found in the “sacred books” in the spirit of these injunctions. It is curious to notice that a Bráhmaṇ is represented as on a level with a Shúdra, in religious status, till his “new birth from revealed scripture ;”§ and that he has to view the state of a Shúdra as the ultimatum of his own degradation in the case of the greatest offences.¶

In the greatest events of life and death, the privileges of a Shúdra are of a very restricted character. He must not marry in any Caste superior to his own.** He must

* Manu, v. 40.

† Manu, ii. 62.

‡ Shiva Purāṇa, adh. viii. In this and other chapters of a little known Purāṇa, there is very curious information respecting the worship of Shiva and the observances of his votaries.

§ Manu, ii. 172.

¶ See, for example, Manu iii. 17-19.

** Manu, iii. 15. “A Bráhmaṇ, if he take a Shúdra to his bed as a first wife, sinks to the regions of torment ; if he beget a child by her he loses even his priestly rank.” Ibid. iii. 17.

aid in carrying the body of a Bráhmaṇ, though even that of his master, to the burning or burying-ground, that the funeral rites may not be hindered and obstructions to enter heaven may not occur.* The southern gate of a town (the most remote from the holy north) is that only by which he can carry his own kinsmen to the grave.† His morals are not to be strictly looked after. Theft is less heinous in him than in those above him.‡ He may drink the spirit of rice, while it is interdicted to Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas.§ Probably because of his connexion with Bráhmanical households, he ranks higher than artizans, to whose occupations he may resort when tormented by hunger.|| The cruelty with which he may be punished for the slightest offences against the Bráhmans, we have already brought to notice.¶ His murder by a Bráhmaṇ is equal only to the killing of a cat, an ichneumon, the bird *chásha* (the Indian Roller), a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow.** His bliss in a future world, or in a future birth, depends principally on his service. "Servile attendance on Bráhmans learned in the Vēda, chiefly on such as keep house and are famed for virtue, is of itself the highest duty of a Shúdra, and leads him to future beatitude. Pure, humbly serving the higher classes, sweet in speech, never arrogant, ever seeking refuge in Bráhmans, he may attain the highest class" (in another birth). ††

By some intelligent writers, the position and condition of the Indian Shúdras, as brought to notice in the Hin-

* Manu, v. 104.

† Manu, v. 92.

‡ Manu, viii. 337.

§ Manu, xi. 94.

|| Manu, x. 99.

¶ See above pp. 19-20.

** Manu, xi. 131.

†† Manu, ix. 334-335.

du Law Books, and exhibited in ancient (not the most ancient) India society, has been likened to that of the Helots of Sparta. As far as the deprivation of liberty, the social degradation, and the actual sufferings of both these classes of slaves were concerned, there was doubtless considerable similarity. It must be kept in mind, however, that while the Helots were slaves of the soil and usually employed in agricultural labour, the Shúdras were slaves of the household and commonly employed in domestic services. In religious status, the Shúdras were lower than the Helots. When a reference is made to their obvious usefulness in olden times, it is difficult to understand the peculiar hate with which, it would seem, they were regarded, unless on the supposition that they were prone,—as well they might be,—to discontent and rebellion, at any rate till a general agreement as to their depression was secured among their superiors.

Of the four classes of Hindus now treated of, it is held by the Bráhmans that the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas no longer exist. In explanation of their doctrine on this matter, they refer to the legend of Parashuráma, an alleged incarnation of the god Viṣṇu, who is said to have killed all the Kshatriyas in twenty-one engagements;* to the destruction of the Yádavas by Kṛiṣṇa, considered also an incarnation of the same god;† and

* For a summary and review of the wild legends connected with Parashuráma, see Muir's Texts, pp. 151-174. The slaughter of the Kshatriyas is laid in remote ages, beyond those of the Law Books, and the narrations of it are not available for the purpose for which they are appealed to by the modern Bráhmans.

† The legends of this alleged destruction are given in the Mahábhá-rata and the Vaishnava Purāṇas. See Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 610.

especially to certain passages in the *Bhāgavata* and other *Purāṇas*, in which it is prophesied that after king Nanda, son of Mahānanda, all earthly power is to be administered by *Shūdras*.* To their allegations on these matters it will be afterwards necessary to refer. In the meantime, I would simply mention one or two historical facts which bear more distinctly on the position of the *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas* in India than do the legends adduced by the *Brāhmans*. As the conquests of the *Āryas*,—from whom, as we shall immediately see, the first *Brāhmans*, *Kshatriyas*, and *Vaishyas* sprung,—advanced in India, difficulties, arising from the prejudices of race, were felt in giving the status of *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas* to the rulers and cultivators and merchants of the subjugated tribes; while, compared with the general population of these tribes, the pure *Āryas* must have appeared but few in number. *Shākya Muni*, the founder of Buddhism, who flourished in the first half of the sixth or latter half of the fifth century before Christ, was a *Kshatriya*; and he, and his cause after him, received great patronage and support from the scions of the princely tribe, who became its great propagators, while they seceded from the organized *Brāhmanical* faith and were reckoned apostates by its up-

(See *Bhāgavata*, Skanda xii. 1. In the *Vishnu Purāṇa* (Wilson's, p. 467) it is said of this Nanda, "Like another *Parashurāma*, he will be the annihilator of the *Kshatriya* race; for after him the kings of the earth will be *Shūdras*.") Except sometimes in bare lists of kings (requiring a critical consideration, and adjustment), the *Purāṇas* give no history. To preserve the air of antiquity, these writings, which were evidently manufactured in late centuries, give their chronology in a prophetic form.

holders. The merchants of India, too, clave to Buddhism in great multitudes, as is evident from the inscriptions on the Buddhist Excavations, and is still illustrated in the case of the Jainas of Western India. In the course of ages, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, mainly of Aryan blood, seeing the peculiar honours claimed by and accorded to Bráhmans, not unnaturally aspired, we may suppose, after promotion; and in the miscellaneous society of India, gave themselves out for Bráhmans, though by the real priestly class they might not be altogether acknowledged to have this standing. In every province of India there are cultivating and labouring Bráhmans, so-called, who are not acknowledged by their brethren in general to be of the real stamp; and who claim as their privilege only three of the six constituted works of the Bráhmans—those of reading the Védas, sacrificing for themselves, and giving alms. Examples of this class of Bráhmans may be found in the Bhátelá Bráhmans of Gujarát;* in the Shenavi Bráhmans of the Maráthá country and Goa territories; in the Haiga Bráhmans of the Karnátika;† and in the Mahástána, or Mastan Bráhmans of Odra, or Orissa—who are as likely to have been originally Aryas of the ruling and cultivating tribes seeking elevation in caste, as Bráhmans deteriorating themselves by their present employments.‡ It is notorious that in the Bengal Army,

* See Author's Journal of a Tour in Gujarát, in *Oriental Christian Spectator* 1835, p. 250

† Letter of Huddleston Stokes Esq. to the author.

‡ Noticing the Mastan Bráhmans, Mr. A Stirling (*Trans. of As-Soc.* vol. xv., p. 198) says, "Besides cultivating with their own hands gardens of the Karbu (*Arum Indicum*) cocoanut, and Areca, and the pi-

many of the parties who had professed to belong to the Bráhmānhood, have been known to declare themselves to be of a lower grade, to get admittance into regiments in which there was more than the desired supply of Bráhmāns. All this is said with the full admission of the fact that the Bráhmānical theory of the total extinction of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas is altogether inadmissible. The descent of *some* of the Rajput princes from the ancient Kshatriyas,—with a mixture of foreign and aboriginal blood,—seems undeniable, even without the rapacious advocacy of the modern Paurānika, the worthy and genial Colonel James Tod.

IV.—ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE MIXED CASTES.

According to Manu, the original developement of humanity was confined to the Four Castes now noticed. “Three Castes, the Bráhmān, the Kshatriya, and the Vaishya,” he says, “are twice-born; the fourth, the Shúdra, is once-born; and there is not a fifth.”* These divisions of human society, however, it must be seen at once, are quite inadequate to the exigencies of its progress and history. Other classes of men, with other duties, must have appeared in India, as well as in other countries, soon after the first settlement in it of any considerable body of, the

per beetles, or pán, they very frequently follow the plough, from which circumstance they are called Halia Bráhmāns, and they are found everywhere in great numbers of Mukaddams and Sarbarakars, or hereditary renters of villages. Those who handle the plough glory in their occupation, and affect to despise the *Bed* or Vēda Bráhmāns, who live upon alms. . . . I have not been able to trace satisfactorily the origin and history of these Mastan Bráhmāns, who I am informed resemble the cultivating Bráhmāns of Tirhut and Behár.”

* Manu, x. 4.

descendants of our first progenitor. Such classes Hinduism recognizes; but it views them, and certain degraded classes of the people, and other bodies of men not yet within the pale of Hinduism, as the issue of connubial intercourse and adultery, and of after-propagation by that issue, and treats them as mules and hybrids.* It calls them the Mixed Castes (*Varua Sankara*). The origin thus attributed to them is doubtless entirely of a fictional character. The "Mixed Castes," must have originated principally from the increase of occupations in the Hindu community, brought about by the growing demands and division of labour, and by the circumstance of the dominant people (the A'ryas, to be immediately noticed), coming in contact with aboriginal tribes, which, keeping in the main beyond the pale of Hinduism, have either been ultimately degraded, or have maintained for themselves in their own retreats a precarious independence. I introduce,—with a few explanations,—the information which is given respecting them by Manu. We are able to identify several of his designations as those of tribes distinct from that of the dominant class which established Brāhmanism, and the system of faith with which it is associated.

“Sons, begotten by the twice-born on the class immediately below them, wise legislators call similar in class [with their parents, but not the same] because they are degraded by the lowness of their mothers. Such is the primeval rule for the sons of women one degree lower

* Commenting on the passage last quoted from Manu, Kullūka Bhatta, as noticed by Mr. Muir (*Original Sanskrit Texts*, p. 175), says, “There is no fifth Caste: for Caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, seeing that like mules, they belong to another species distinct from that of their father and mother.”

[than their husbands]: for the sons of women two or three degrees lower, let this rule of law be known:—

“From a Bráhmaṇ, on a Vaishya wife,* is born a son called *Ambashtha*,” who, as Manu in another law says, “should live by curing disorders,” and whose class is recognizable as the *Ambastai*, a people mentioned by Ptolemy,† “and represented as a “*Vaidya*” or Physician;”‡) on a Shúdra wife, [is born] a *Nisháda*, originally viewed as a “settled” inhabitant, one of the Aborigines, but afterwards appointed “to catch

* The Code, it will be observed, does not tell us what the offspring of a Bráhmaṇ and a *Kshatriya* woman, referred to in the preceding general law, is. Probably a verse has here disappeared from the manuscripts. In the *Sahyádrī Khanda* of the *Skanda Purána*, we find it thus written:—*क्षत्रिया विप्रसंयोगा जातो मूर्धभिक्षुः । राजन्यक्षत्रधर्मेण अधिक सप्रकीर्तितः*—The offspring of a *Vipra* (Bráhmaṇ on a *Kshatriya* woman) is a *Murdhábhisikta* (anointed in the head), a *Rajanya* (of princely descent) reckoned higher in religion than a *Kshatriya*. Kullúka Bhaṭṭa supplies *Murdhavasikta*, but adds to it, as apparently designations also given to this kind of offspring, *Mádhishya*, *Karāṇa*, or *Káyaṣtha*. Prefixed to these four designations, Sir W. Jones (*Manu*, x. 6) supplies the words, “*They are named in order.*” But the names are not in the order of four ranks, but expressive of four Castes, alleged to be of one origin and equal status. The *Murdhábhisikta*, or *Murdhavasikta*, Caste is held by the Bráhmaṇs to be no longer in existence.

† *Am̐barai*, Pal. *A'm̐barai*, Ptol. lib. vii, Ed. Bert. p. 204.

‡ As noticed by Professor Lassen, the appearance of the *Vaidya* here is puzzling; but probably the Code had it in view to give to a *Vaidya* more than the rank of a *Vaishya*, as each of these mixed classes partakes in the dignity of the father. Onwards the Code gives to the *Ambashtha*, the cure of disorders, dropping the *Vaidya* out of view. It is probable that the country of the *Ambashthas*, like the *Karnátika* of the present day, furnished remarkable physicians or travelling quacks.

fish,"* named also *Párashava*, in the *Jāti-Viveka*, and the *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa*—a *Sonár*, or goldsmith.†

"From a Kshatriya, on a Shúdra wife, springs a creature called *Ugra*,"—the patronymic of a people in the time of the Vedas, perhaps the original of the Hungarian nation,—“with a nature partly warlike and partly servile, ferocious in his manners, cruel in his acts, and commanded,—with the Kshattri and Pukkasa to be afterwards mentioned,—“to live by killing animals that live in holes.”†

“The sons of a Bráhmian by [women of] three [lower] classes, of a Kshatriya by [women of] two, and of a Vaishya, by one [lower] class, are called *Apasada*, or degraded.

“From a Kshatriya, by a Bráhmian woman, is born a

* At the time of the *Mahábhárata*, (*Rājadharmamānusháshana parva*, vv. 2209-2218, Cal. Ed. vol. iii. p. 443) the *Nishádas* and *Mlechchas* dwelling in the Vindhya mountains, and the reputed descendants of the wicked *Vena* are reckoned at a hundred thousand (classes?). The picture of the *Nisháda* there given seems to have had a party like the *Bhilla* for its type, a being spoken of as “deformed, dwarfish, of the colour of charred-wood, with red [furious?] eyes, and black hair.” To this description of him we shall afterwards advert.

† The classing of a goldsmith with a *Nisháda* seems curious; but the *Nisháda* was not considered so alien from the ruling race as is commonly supposed. In the *Rámáyana* i. 33, we find *Ráma* spoken of as meeting with *Guha*, “the pious, and beloved prince of the *Nishádas*” (*गुहमासाद्य धर्मार्त्ता निषादाभिषर्त्ति प्रियं*.) The Bombay goldsmiths, however, don’t like to be associated with the *Nishádas*, and plead for being considered a sort of sub-Bráhmans. The *Sahyádri Khaṇḍa* gives to the *Sonár*, viewed as a *Párashava*, more than the religious status of a Shúdra. It denominates him a *Maháshúdra*, or great Shúdra. That work, however, is but a late production.

‡ In the *Sahyádri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the *Ugra** gets the rank of a *Rajput*.

Sūta [the “sent”], to “live by managing horses and driving cars;” and who, of old, must have been the great traditional bard, or reciter, of the families in which he was found.*

“From a Vaishya, by a military or sacerdotal wife, springs a *Māghada*,” “authorized to travel with merchandise,”—and probably an aboriginal inhabitant of the province of *Maghada*; “and a *Vaidēha*,” of the country of *Vidēha*,—first mentioned in the Sanskrit writings as belonging to King Janaka,—“to live by waiting on women.”

“From a Shūdra, on a Vaishya, Kshatriya, or Brāhman woman, are born sons of a mixed breed, called *A'yogava* (a monstrous junction); a Kshattri,” “a degraded being, who must live by killing animals;” “and a *Chāṇḍāla*, the lowest of mortals,”—† whose tribe is recognized by Ptolemy as that of the *Kandali*, or *Gondali*, on the river Tapti,‡ (perhaps the *Gonds*,—adjoining the *Phyllitæ*, of the same author, identified as the *Bulls*,—or the *Gondhālis*, still a wandering tribe of the *Mahārāshtra*.)

“From a Brāhman, by an Ugra female, is born an *A'vrita*; by one of the Ambashtha tribe, an *Abhira*,”—designated from *Abira*, of Ptolemy, on the banks of the Indus, and represented by *Alir*, the name of a class of shepherds in Sindh, Kachh, and Kāthiāwād; “by one of the *Ayogava* tribe, a *Dhigvāna*,”§ “appointed to sell leather.”

* The *Mahābhārata* professes to have been recited by Ugrasravas the son of the *Sūta* Lomaharshana, who is said, however, to have received it from Vaishampāyana, a disciple of *Vyāsa*, the reputed “compiler,” as his name bears, of the *Vēdas* and *Shāstras*.

† Manu, x. 6-12.

‡ Manu, x. 15.

§ Ptol. Geo. Ed. Bertii. p. 204.

“The son of a Nisháda by a Shúdra woman is by tribe a *Pukkasa*,” “to live by killing animals that live in holes;” “but the son of a Shúdra by a Nishádi woman, is named *Kukkutaka*.

“One born of a Kshattri by an *Ugra* is called *Svapáka* (dog-eater); and one begotten by a *Vaidéha* on an Ambashthi woman is called *Véna*,” “who should strike musical instruments.”*

“Those whom the twice-born beget on women of equal classes, but who perform not the proper ceremonies, people denominate *Vrátya*, or excluded from the *Gáyatrí*.

“From such an outcast Bráhmān springs a son, of a sinful nature, named a *Bhárjakantaka*, an *A'vantya*, a *Vátadhāna*, a *Pushpadha*, and a *Shaikha*,”—who seem to have been inhabitants of the countries near the western part of the Vindhya range.

“From such an outcast Kshatriya comes a son called *Jhalla* (Rajguru), a *Malla* (wrestler), a *Nichhavi*,† *Nata* (a dancer), a *Karana*, a *Khasa*” (of the Khásya tribe), and a *Dravida*,”—of the eastern coast of the peninsula.)

“From such an outcast Vaishya is born a son called *Sulhanvá*, *Cháryya*, *Karusha*, *Vijanma*, *Maitra*, and *Sátvata*,”—the last mentioned being near the Vindhya.‡

“A *Dasyu*,”—originally a non-Aryan,—“or outcast of any pure class, begets, on an *Ayogari* woman, a *Sairindhra*, who should know how to attend and dress his master.

* *Véna* comes from *Víná*, a lyre.

† This is supposed by Professor Lassen to be for *Lichavi*, a class of people, noted as warriors, in the East of India.

‡ *Manu* x. 17-23.

"A Vaidéha begets on her a sweet-voiced *Maitréyaka*, who ringing a bell (or gong) at the appearance of dawn, continually praises great men.

"A *Nisháda* begets on her a *Mārgava*, or *Dāsha*, who subsists by his labour in boats, and is named *Kaivarta*, by those who dwell in *A'ryavarta*.*

"From a *Nisháda*, by a Vaidéha woman, springs a *Kārávara*, who cuts leather, and from a Vaidéha by women of the *Kārávara* and *Nisháda* castes an *Andhra* (of the eastern part of the peninsula), and a *Méda*,† who must live without the town,"—perhaps of the degraded *Meda* ("Mair") tribe in *Rajputáná*.

"From a *Chāndála*, by a Vaidéha woman, comes a *Pāndu-opákā*, who works with cane and reeds; and from a *Nisháda*, an *Ahindika*," said to be a "jailor."

"From a *Chāndála*, by a Pukassí woman, is born a *Sopáka*, who lives by punishing criminals, a sinful wretch ever despised by the virtuous.

"A *Nishádi* woman, by a *Chāndála*, produces a son called *Antyavasáyí* (performer of the lowest actions) employed in places for burning the dead, contemned even by the contemptible."‡

"The following races of Kshatriyas, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Bráhmans, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes [the *Shúdras*]:—*Paundrakas*, [of the east of India], *Odras* [of Orisa], and *Dravidas* [of the south east of India]; *Kámbojas*, *Yavanas* [Greeks], and *Shakas* [Sacs]; *Pára*

* Manu, x. 32-34. The region of the A'ryas.

† The Maráthi Bráhmans consider the *Méda* the equivalent of *Gonda*.

‡ Manu, x. 36-39.

das, *Pahlavas* [Persians], *Chínas* [Chinese],* *Kirátas*, *Daradas*, and *Khashas* [all identified as names of peoples and tribes]. All those tribes of men which are sprung from the classes produced from the mouth, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of *Brahmá*, became outcasts and are called *Dasyus*, whether they speak the language of the *Mléchchhas*, or that of the *Aryas*.†

The Mixed Classes of the Hindus, even in their generic designations, are now far more numerous than those which are here indicated, though doubtless there has been a great indisposition on the part of the *Bráhmans* to extend them nominally beyond those found mentioned in the more ancient Law Books. This fact may be illustrated by any of the Tabular views of the Castes constructed by the natives in any of the provinces of India,—as in that of the *Maháráshtra*, or *Maráthá* country, a transliteration and translation of which, in an abridged form, may, with its introductory matter, be here introduced, as the most distinct and precise document of the kind procurable.‡

1. “The *Bráhmans* have proceeded from the mouth of the god *Brahmá*. They have a right to the performance and use of the Sixteen Sacraments and the Six religious Works.” The Sixteen Sacraments (*sanskáras*), here alluded to, are the following :—*garbhádhána*, sacrifice to promote conception, or acknowledge it when it occurs ;

* The occurrence of the *Chínas* and *Yavanas* in this verse indicates this portion of *Manu* to be later than the time of the Greeks in India.

† *Manu* x. 43-45. See, on some of the tribes here mentioned, Wilson's *Vishnu Purána*, p. 177.

‡ This character I give it on comparing the *Maráthí* Tables with the similar documents of Bengal, the *Gwálér* State, *Orissá*, the *Canarese* country, the *Támil* country, *Malayálin*, etc.

punsavana, sacrifice on vitality in the foetus; *anavalo-bhana*, sacrifice in the third month of pregnancy; *Vishnu-bali*, sacrifice to Vishnu in the seventh month of pregnancy; *simantonayana*, sacrifice in the fourth, sixth, or eighth month; *jatakarma*, the birth ceremony, giving the infant clarified butter from a golden spoon before dividing the navel string; *namakarana*, naming the child on the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or hundred-and-first day; *nishkrama*, carrying him out to be presented to the moon on the third lunar day of the third light fortnight; *suryavalokana*, carrying him out to be presented to the sun in the third or fourth month; *annaprashana*, feeding him with rice in the sixth or eighth month, or when he has cut his teeth; *chudakaryya*, tonsure, in the second or third year; *upanayana*, investiture with the string in the fifth, eighth, or sixteenth year; *mahanamyā* instruction in the gayatri-mantra, after the Munja, the ceremony of investment with the sacrificial cord; *samarvartana*, loosing the Munja from the loins; *viraha*, marriage, with its immediate antecedents and concomitants; *svargarohana*, funeral ceremonies and obsequies, to forward the entrance of the spirit into Svarga, or heaven.* The dispensation of such of the Sacraments here mentioned as precede birth, is attended with the injury of all delicate feeling in families. There is much ceremony, without any really moral import, in all the Hindu Sacraments. The Six Constituted works of the Bráhmans have been already mentioned.†

2. "The *Kshatriyas* have proceeded from the arm

* In this mention of the Sacraments, I have principally followed Molesworth (Dictionary, p. 836). But compare Steele's Summary of the Law and Customs of Hindu Caste, p. 30.

† See above, p. 17.

of the god. They have a right to the use of the Sixteen Sacraments and Three religious Works.

3. "The *Vaishyas* have proceeded from the foot of the god. They have a right to the use of the Sixteen Sacraments and Three religious Works.

4. "The *Shúdras* have proceeded from the foot of the god. They have a right to the use of Twelve Sacraments through the Náma-Mantras.* Their duty is to serve the other three Castes.

"Thus were created the Four Castes (*varṇas*). The god Brahmá also produced some Mind-born Sons. One of these was Kashyapa Rishi [the son of Maríchi one of the Mind-born Sons], who gave birth to the gods (*Dévas*) and Titans (*Daityas*), and so continued the progression of the world.† (The Bráhmans had the

* The principal Sacraments not allowed to Shúdras are Upanayana, Mahánámya, and Samavarttana. The Náma-Mantras are the simple invocations of the names of the gods, as distinguished from Vedic texts.

† In the doctrine of the Mind-born sons of Brahma, here alluded to (designedly in an obscure form, for preventing the charge of inconsistency), there is, even in Manu (i. 32-et seq.), a theory of the origin of the human race quite inconsistent with the orthodox view of the origin of Caste. "Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord [Brahmá, the creator] became, with the half, a male, and with the half, a female; and in that female he created *Viráj*. Know, O most excellent of Bráhmans, [Manu is here represented as speaking to Bhrigu, one of the Mind-born Sons, or Sons formed by Manu] that I am the person whom that male *Viráj* after performing devotion, created: I who am the creator of all this [world]. Being desirous to form creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten Maharshis, (great Rishis) the lords of creatures: Maríchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Praché-tas, Vashishtha, Bhrigu, and Nárada. They, endued with great energy, created seven other Manus and Dévas, and the abodes of Dévas, and Maharshis of boundless power, Yakshas, Rákhshasas, Pisháchas, Gan-

custom of receiving in marriage females of all the four Castes (the wife of his own Caste being the first.) The Kshatriyas married the females of three Castes, including their own. The Vaishyas were to exclude the females of the Bráhmaṇ and Kshatriya Castes, and to marry those of their own and the Shúdra Caste. The Shúdras were permitted to contract marriages only in their own Caste.) Such was the custom of the former ages. The offspring of such marriages is called the *Anuloma*.* The offspring of unlawful connexions between the higher Caste men and lower caste women is called the *Pratiloma*.† The period for the investiture with the sacred thread of the male issues of the Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya, and Vaishya Castes is [properly] restricted to the age of nine years (to the commencement of the

dharmas, Apsarasas, Asuras, Nágas, Serpents, Suparnas, and the different classes of Pitris,..... Kinnaras, apes, fishes, various birds, beasts, deer, MEN, and wild animals with two rows of teeth..... Thus by my appointment [that of Manu, the son of the self-existent] and by the force of devotion, these great ones created all this movable and immovable world with separate actions allotted to each creature." To this passage, as opposed to the orthodox theory of Caste, I directed attention in my lectures to the youth of Bombay many years ago. Mr. Muir (whose translation I have adopted in giving it, O. S. T. p. 16), I am glad to notice, thus refers to it:—"It will be observed that among the creatures formed by the ten Maharshis are Men, who are not specified as being of any particular caste. How does this creation by the Maharshis consist with the four being created separately, and by the immediate act of Brahmá, as described in verse 31," [in which they are spoken of as brought from his head, hands, etc.] ?

* From *Anu*, with, and *toma*, hair, grain, or line, meaning in the direct line of nature.

† The reverse of the preceding.

ninth year)* Those whose thread ceremony has not been solemnized within that period are called *Vrátya*. The children born to the *Vrátyas* by adultery with the women of their own caste are called the *Vrátya-Santati* (*Vrátya*-progeny). Again, those born of illegal connexion of the men of any one of the above-mentioned castes with the women of any other caste are called the Mixed Castes (*Sankara-Jāti*). The authors of the *Jāti-Vivéka*, the *Brahmajāti-Vivéka*, the *Mādhava Kalpalita*, and the *Parashurāma Pratāpa* [works of authority among the *Marāṭhā Brāhmins*], say there are many Mixed-Castes in this last age (*Kali-Yuga*) which cannot be determined and described. Yet, with the help of *Manu* and the other *Ṛishis*, they enumerate 134 produced from the *Anulomas* and *Pratilomas*, and the mixture (by the *Sankara-Jāti*) of the four original Castes. They describe their modes of subsistence, and notice the Castes which are referable to the *Sankara-Jāti* and those which are not. The following is the sum of them :—

| | |
|--|-------|
| Directly from god—the <i>Brāhman</i> , <i>Kshatriya</i> , <i>Vaishya</i> , and <i>Shūdra</i> | 4 |
| From the <i>Anuloma</i> —the <i>Murdhā-Vasikta</i> , the <i>Ambashṭha</i> , the <i>Pārashava</i> , the <i>Mahishya</i> , the <i>Ugra</i> , and the <i>Vaitālika-Karapa Chārana</i> | 6 |
| • From the <i>Pratiloma</i> —the <i>Sūta</i> , the <i>Vaidēhika</i> , the <i>Chāṇḍāla</i> , the <i>Māgadha</i> , the <i>Kshata-Nishāda</i> , the <i>Ayogava</i> | 6 |
| From the <i>Vrátyas</i> and the <i>Sankaras</i> together, according to the preceding books | 36 |
| To which are to be added, from the <i>Parashurāma Pratāpa</i> , | 22 |
| Total of Castes enumerated | 134." |

* See the injunction of *Manu* on this matter, above, pp. 15-16. But compare with it, for the application of the term *Vrátya*, the *Mahābhārata*, *Anushāshana Parva*, 6. 2621 :—“The three outcaste classes are the *Chāṇḍāla*, the *Vrátya*, and the *Vaidya*, begotten by a *Shūdra* on females of the *Brāhman*, *Kshatriya*, and *Vaishya* classes respectively.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE CASTES ABOVE REFERRED TO.

From the Brāhman to the Shūdra, here the Kuntl or Cultivator.

| Caste. | Sanskrit denomination. | Marāṭhi denomination. | English denomination. | Male Parent. | Female Parent. | Procreation. |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Brāhman | Brāhman | Brāhman | Brāhman | Brāhman | Brāhman | Regular. |
| 2 Mardābhishik- tā* | | | Anointed in the head | Brāhman | Kshatriya | Anuloma. |
| 3 Kshatriya | Kshatriya | Kshatriya | Kshatriya | Kshatriya | Kshatriya | Regular. |
| 4 Ambashtha | Vaidya | Ambashtha | Ambashtha | Brāhman | Vaishya | Anuloma. |
| 5 Vaishya | Vaishya | Vaishya | Vaishya | Vaishya | Vaishya | Regular. |
| 6 Mahishya | Joshi | Mahishya or Joshi | Kshatriya | Vaishya | Vaishya | Anuloma. |
| 7 Kunda-Golaka | Kunda-Golaka | Kunda-Golaka | Brāhman | Brāhman | Adultery, wife of another | Adultery. |
| 8 Randa-Golaka | Randa-Golaka | Randa-Golaka | Brāhman | Brāhman- widow | Adultery. | Adultery. |
| 9 Bhishaka, or Am- baka† | Apar-Ambashtha | Bhishaka, or Ambaka | Brāhman | Kshatriya | Adultery. | Adultery. |
| 10 Sūta | Sārathi | Charioteer, or Bard | Kshatriya | Brāhman | Pratilo- ma. | Pratilo- ma. |
| 11 Parashavaj | Sonār | Goldsmith | Brāhman | Shūdra | Anuloma. | Anuloma. |
| 12 Ugra | Rajput | Ugra | Kshatriya | Shūdra | Anuloma. | Anuloma. |
| 13 Kānsyakāra | Kānsār | Bell-metal- worker | Shūrasēna, Adhika- Kshatriya | Shūrasēna, Adhika- Kshatriya | Dege- ration.‡ | Dege- ration.‡ |
| 14 Brijjakantha | Pratham-Bai- rāgi | 1. Bairāgi | Brāhman | Brāhman | Vrātya, Santati. | Vrātya, Santati. |
| 15 A'vartaka | Dvitiya-Bairāgi | 2. Do. | Brijjakantha or Pratham Bairāgi | Brāhman | Do. | Do. |
| 16 Katadhāna | Tritiya-Bairāgi | 3. Do. | A'vartaka, or Dvitiya Bairāgi | Brāhman | Do. | Do. |
| 17 Pushpashēkhara | Chaturtha-Bai- rāgi | 4. Do. | Katadhāna or Tritiya Bairāgi§ | Brāhman | Do. | Do. |

* Or Mardābhishikta. Now altogether extinct.

† Now altogether extinct.

‡ Goldsmiths are important personages in the community. Many say they are here inserted by favour, all the handiworks, according to the Caste theory, should rank lower than Shūdras. They have, however, a common progenitor ascribed to them.

§ By a Kshatriya adopting a trade, as is said.

|| The Bairāgi, or Fairāgi, are devotees of Vishnu, and properly a sect, not a caste. The numeric distinctions in Marāṭhi (1, 2, 3, 4) are purely arbitrary.

| Caste. | Sanskrit designation. | Mardihi designation. | English designation. | Male Parent. | Female Parent. | Progeny. |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------|
| 18 Māgadha | Sūrya-Upāsaka .. | Māghada .. | Brāhman .. | Pushpashikhara .. | | |
| 19 Shāsvatika | Dēvapūjā-Karahār .. | Idol-dresser .. | Brāhman .. | Māgadha .. | | |
| 20 Sudhanvāchārya, Bhāruda, Vi-janma, Mai-trēya, Sūvrita, | Jangam, etc., of five kinds of Vāgīs* | | Vratya-van-sha Anupanita .. | Vaishya | Vratya .. | |
| 21 Shūdra | Kumbh | Cultivator .. | Shūdra | Shūdra | Regular .. | |

Of the Status of the Cultivators.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|--|
| 22 Abhir | Gawalī | Herdsman† .. | Brāhman .. | Mahishya .. | | |
| 23 Māgadha-Bandijana | Bhātaya Kavi .. | Minstrel of the Māgadhas .. | Vaishya | Kshatriya .. | Pratiloma .. | |
| 24 Nāpita | Nhāvī | Barber | Brāhman .. | Shūdra | | |
| 25 Aparā-Nāpitāt .. | Nhāvī | Barber | Māgadha .. | Ugra | | |
| 26 Jhalla | Rājguru | Jhulla | Kshatriya .. | Shūdra or Vratya .. | | |
| 27 Malla | Jethī ‡ | Wrestler | Jhalla | Kshatriya .. | | |
| 28 Vichuka | Chatradhar, or Wari | Umbrella-holder .. | Brāhman .. | Vaidēhika .. | | |
| 29 Sūda | Svayampāks .. | Cook | Sūta | Vaidēhika .. | | |
| 30 Kānsyakāra | Bogar-Kānsūr .. | Clumey-Brazier .. | Brāhman .. | Ambashtha .. | | |
| 31 Kīnāsava | Tāmbat | Coppersmith .. | Kshatriya .. | Pārashava .. | | |
| 32 Rathakāra | Sutār § | Carpenter | Mahishya .. | Ucharan-Vaitālaka .. | | |

Lower than Shūdras.

| | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------------|-------------|--|
| 33 Vaitālaka Kara-na, or Chārana | Dhādī (?) | | Vaishya | Shūdra | Anuloma .. | |
| 34 Kāyastha | Parbhu or Par-bhu .. | K. Parbhu .. | Vaidēhika .. | Mahishya .. | | |
| 35 Aparā-Kāyastha .. | Parbhu or Par-bhu .. | Kāyastha .. | Kāyastha .. | widow .. | | |
| 36 Parabhā | Parabhā | | Vratya Parbhu-brother .. | Parbhu-sister .. | Incest. | |
| 37 Andhasyaka | Bhadabhunja .. | Grain-parcher .. | Vaidēhika .. | Shūdra .. | | |
| 38 Maṇikāra | Vidhārī | Jeweller | Kshatriya .. | Vaishya | Adultery .. | |
| 39 Shalikāra (?) | Katārī | Turner | Mālukāra .. | Kāyastha .. | | |

* This is a late interpolation, the Jangams being the priests of the Lingayits, a modern sect.

† From the Sanskrit *Jogthla*, chief.

‡ Variety of the preceding.

§ Or Karana.

|| Insinuation from Brāhmanical hatred, the Kāyasthas, or Parbhūs, being great rivals of the Brāhman the matter of office-employment.

| Caste. | Sanskrit designation. | Murathi designation. | English designation. | Male Parent. | Female Parent. | Procreation. |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 40 A. Agara | Pātharavat | Stone-dresser | Shūdra | Vaishya | Prastho | |
| 41 Kumbhākara | Kumbhār | Potter | Brāhman | Ugra | ma | |
| 42 Gundhaka | Gandhi | Perfumer | Ugra | Ambashtha | | |
| 43 Vatsali | Gorākhī | Cowherd | Shūdra | Rānsyākara | | |
| 44 Shūdhra | Mat- Ang-Mardani .. | Appliers of unguents | Malla | Kshatriya .. | | |
| 45 Chhāgalika | Shōlaka | Goatherd | Katadhana .. | Bandijana or Magadhī | | |
| 46 Sindolaka | Shimpī | Tailor | Shūdra | Bhāṣṭya | | |
| 47 Vāstra-Vikrayī .. | Kapādā-Vikānār-Shimpī | Clothier Tailor | Shūdra | Ayogava or Pātharavata | | |
| 48 Shābala | Unknown* | | Brāhman .. | Bandijana .. | | |
| 49 Shankarghna .. | Shankarghna .. | | Kāyastha .. | A'yogava .. | | |
| 50 Mālākāra | Mālī | Gardener | Mahishya .. | Nishāda | | |
| 51 Phala-Vikrayī .. | Phal-Vikar | Flower-seller .. | Brāhman .. | Kalavānī .. | | |
| 52 Kūgalika | Kavāḍī Kashi .. | Fruit-seller .. | Shūdra | Ugra | | |
| 53 Jāyika | Jāsud | Messenger .. | Nishāda | Ugra | | |
| 54 Shayapāla | Phras | Bed-maker .. | Sairandhara .. | Dwāra-rakshaka | | |
| 55 Nishāda-Pārasava | Nīcha-Sonar | Low-Sonar .. | Brāhman .. | Shūdra | | |
| 56 Mahāguru, Ushapāla | Karhekar | Camel-man .. | Kshata-Nishāda | Avartaka .. | | |
| 57 Magutavallī (?) .. | Chora-Rakshak .. | Watchman .. | Brāhman .. | Bandijana .. | | |
| 58 Bhāṣṭya-Sankara Gurava | | Dresser of Idols | Mahā-Tapasvī Brāhman | Married-Shūdra | | |
| 59 Suchala and Kuchala | Gondhali | Musician | A'ndhra | Vaidēhika .. | | |
| 60 Maitriya | Gondhali | Rode-Musician | Vaidēhika .. | A'yogava .. | | |
| 61 Chitrakāra | Shankavati and Rājavati | | A'vartaka .. | Chigvaga .. | | |
| 62 Prasādika | Gandī | Mason | A'yogava .. | Kuivartaka .. | | |
| 63 Aurahdra | Dhagar | Shepherd | Brijjākanta .. | Chhāgali | | |
| 64 Sangara (?) | Sangar | Shepherd | Shūdra | A'bhīr | | |
| 65 Vaidēhika | Kuntā | Pimp | Vaishya | Brāhman | Prastho .. | |
| 66 Kshēmaka | Dwāra-rakshak, Chobdār | Doorkeeper .. | Kshata-Nishāda | Ugra | ma | |
| 67 Uhmaka | Lohār | Blacksmith .. | Kshatriya .. | Māgadhā .. | | |
| 68 Ishuhāra | Mun-Tirgar and Kādalk | Archer | A'bhū | Brikuasha .. | | |

* The name, said to be Sanskrit, does not seem genuine.

| <i>Caste</i> | <i>Sanskrit deno- mination</i> | <i>Marathi denomi- nation</i> | <i>English deno- mination</i> | <i>Male Parent</i> | <i>Female Parent</i> | <i>Promotion</i> |
|--|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 69 Ishukara | Tingra | Archar | Abhr | Kavartaka .. | | |
| 70 Mausalka (?) .. | Teli | Oilman | Parashava .. | Ugra | | |
| 71 Nagavalli Vih- rayi | Tamboli | Beetle-leaf seller | Kanchari .. | Kamdhakara .. | | |
| 72 Kanchakara | Kanchakaranar .. | Glassmaker .. | Shalmali .. | A'vartaka .. | | |
| 73 Shakilya | Ncha-Nhayi .. | Low-Barber .. | Napita | Marga | | |
| 74 Shambhara | Sali | Weaver | A'vartaka .. | Vena | | |
| 75 Kuravinda | Koghti | Weaver and Spinner | A'vartaka .. | Kukkuta .. | | |
| 76 Shaushira (?) .. | Tasavakar- Koghti | Maker of coarse silk cloth, Low Weaver | Kukkuta .. | A'bhr | | |
| 77 Nilikara | Nirali | Indigodyer .. | A'bhra | Kukkuta .. | | |
| 78 Rakhiha | Kil-Lopari .. | Charcoal- maker | Malla | A'vartaka .. | | |
| 79 Yavasika and Shakitya | Kirad and Cha- baksvar | Grass-cutter Horse- Trainer | Pasulaka .. | Pulkasa | | |
| 80 Patula | Pangul | Pangul- beggars | Pasulaka .. | Shudra | | |
| 81 Dasyu | Bhamatya | Thieves | Kuravinda .. | Kavartaka .. | | |
| 82 Vena | Bahurupi | Mask-recorders Pugmra .. | Ambashtha .. | Vaidhika .. | | |
| 83 Brikunsha | Jambhaka and Akai | Fortune-tell- ers, etc. | A'yogava .. | Magadha- Bandijana .. | | |
| 84 Kalkavanta | Kalkavanta and Kaval | Dancers | Naja | Mahishya .. | | |
| 85 Paushika | Bhuf | Beavers | Brahman .. | Nishada | | |
| 86 Pashulpalya or Pashu-Vikarayi .. | Wanjara .. | Wanjara or Banjara | Paushika .. | Nishada | | |
| 87 Kavartaka | Bhivar Kuli .. | Fisherman .. | Parashava .. | A'yogava .. | | |
| 88 Dugyan | Jingar | Saddler | Brahman .. | A'yogava .. | | |
| 89 Karakari | Shikargar | Fur-bisher .. | Descent not recorded... | | | |
| 90 Utarka | Otari | Caster and Founder | Karamara .. | Chitrakara .. | | |
| 91 Shuddha-Mir- gaka | Gandash or Wasantri | (Low) Musi- cian | Magadha .. | Mahishya .. | | |
| 92 Krodhakukkuta .. | Taksili | Montman | Shudra | Kshatriya- Nishada .. | | |

Lower than the preceding but higher than Chandalas.

They don't reside in villages.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--|--|
| 93 Bandhulaka | Jhurekari | Remoter of metallic dross .. | Maitreya .. | Jadhika .. | | |
| 94 Kashiapatri | Bashadi | Box-maker .. | Kavartaka .. | Ab-tundika .. | | |
| 95 Dhusakura | Ghisadi | Coarse- Blacksmith .. | Karamara .. | Sutir | | |

ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE MIXED CASTES

| Cast | Sanskrit designation | Marathi designation | English designation | Male Parent | Female Parent |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 96 | Shailika | Nalband | Shorn of animals | Kashapatrika | Bráhmaṇ .. |
| 97 | Karma-Chandála | Beldar | Stone-digger | Bráhmaṇ .. | Bráhmaṇ-yajñ |
| 98 | Mangushtha | Chunt-Lonari .. | Time-burner | Sannyasi | Shudra |
| 99 | Manjusha | Parit | Washerman | Kaivartaka .. | Jadhika |
| 100 | Nata | Kolhanti or Dobari | Tumbler or Dancer | Vaidika .. | Ugra |
| 101 | Sitaradhara | Chitra-kathi or Kala-Sutri .. | Doll-Dancer | Shilindhra | Khatiya .. |
| 102 | Rajukara | Kanjari | Rope-twister | Mardani | |
| 103 | Kabata-Nishada | Phansé-Páradhi .. | Snarer | A yagava .. | Rathakara .. |
| 104 | Kinshuka | Borad | Basketmaker | Bráhmaṇ .. | Bráhmaṇ-yajñ |
| 105 | Apara-Kinshuka | Kaikadi | Basketmaker | Kaivartaka .. | Kugavinda .. |
| 106 | Khadrotpadaka | Karkari | Karkari | Nishada .. | Dhigvata .. |
| 107 | Angshuka Man-dalika | Kutwan | Dogman | Ushtrapala .. | Bráhmaṇ .. |
| 108 | Ahi-tundaka | Garudi | Player with serpents | Pushpashikhar | Karma-Chandála |
| 109 | Gholika | Vadari | Foodst | Vaidika .. | Nishada |
| 110 | Charmaka or Kirdara | Chambhar | Shoemaker .. | Dhigvata .. | Nishada |
| 111 | Vaishya-Gayaka | Bhasphod | Bomb-Splitter | Avartaka .. | Karavata .. |
| 112 | Chuladhya | Nicha-Parit | Low Washer-men | Kaivartaka .. | Karava |
| 113 | Sauvika | Khatik | Butcher | Karava-chandála | Kaivartaka .. |
| 114 | Saughkala | Kabil | Distiller .. | Venu | Abhi |

The touch of the following requires ablution of dress. †

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 115 | Durbhara | Dhor | Carrier | A yagava .. | Dhigvata .. |
| 116 | Meda | Gonda and Thakur | Gonda, and Thakur .. | Vaidika .. | Karavata .. |
| 117 | Bhilla | Bhilla | Bhilla | Kaivartaka .. | Karavata .. |
| 118 | Bharud | Ramshi and Berad | Berud, Ramshi .. | Anavasari .. | Pulkasa |
| 119 | Tavara | Lakhari or Niche Otari .. | Varnishers, Dealers-in-lac | Hastaka | Meda |

From the Chandála to the Cannibal.

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| 120 | Chandala | Hindu Haglakh .. | Scavengers .. | Shudra | Bráhmaṇ .. |
| 121 | Pulkasa | Dongari-Kuli .. | Hill-Kuli | Nishada | Shudra |

* Jungle tribe, makers of charcoal.

Wandering tribe: nut-catchers, stone-dressers, &c.

| Caste. | Sanskrit Denomination. | Anglo-Indian Denomination. | Male Title. | Female Title. | Profession. |
|-----------------------------|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 122 Turaka | Gonda, Turka- man, Mlech- cha, etc.* | | Nishāda | Médala | |
| 123 Shvapāk† | Pratham Mahār | 1 Mahār | Chandāla | Pulkasa | |
| 124 Antēvasāy† | Dwitiya Mahār, Dom | 2 Mahār | Chandāla | Nishāda | |
| 125 Plava | Tritiya Mahār | 3 Mahār | Chandāla | Andhra | |
| 126 Kravyādhu | Chaturtha Ma- hār | 4 Mahār | Shvapāka | Plava | |
| 127 Hastaka | Pancham Mahār | 5 Mahār | Chandāla | Kravyādhu | |
| 128 Kātaka | Sāhava Mahār | 6 Mahār | Shvapāka | Hastaka | |
| 129 Heshaka | Nīcha-Mahār | Low Mahār | Doma, Antē- vasāy† | Mātaugi | |
| 130 Chēsha | Ati-nīcha Mahār | Lowest Mahār | Turushka | Chandāla | |
| 131 Shrapacha | Māng | Māng | Chandāla | Mēda | |
| 132 Mātanga | Māng | Low Māng | Plava | Antēvasāy† | |
| 133 Malvashari, Yara- na | Musalman-Halāl- khor, Sojar† | "Soldier" | Turushka | Sāda | |
| 134 Manushya- Blakshaka | Adam-Khor | Cannibal | Chandāla | Mēda | |

"Besides the Castes above enumerated," it is added to the Tables, "there are other Castes,—in the city of Puná eleven,—the origin of which cannot be explained according to the Shāstras. Altogether, the Recognized Castes in the Marátha Country amount to 145. The rank popularly assigned to these Castes does not in each instance accord with that established by the Shāstras."

The list, though comprehending but the families and genera of the local Castes, is indeed, far from being complete. But to this subject we must afterwards return in another connexion. Our object at present has been merely to illustrate the principle according to which, in the orthodox view, varieties in Caste have originated. The mode of their actual development will require special and distinct notice.

* This shows that the Bráhmans are but poor ethnographers.

† Dog-eaters, the Sanskrit denominations, it will be observed, are all attributed to the Mahárs, a degraded Aboriginal tribe, here arbitrarily set forth as of six degrees.

‡ Let the British warrior mark the place here assigned to him. The Bráhmans are afraid to put the "Sahobs" here; and they excuse themselves by saying that they have got a share of the *Rájadākhara*, (authority of government) claimed by the ancient Kshatriyas. Some of the Bráhmans hold that the Yavanas and Europeans should take rank after the Turushkas; but this is of little consequence, as they are still left between the Chāndāla and Cannibal.

To this it has to be added, that the view of the origin and position of the castes here given is that to which orthodox Hinduism adheres to the present day. This is obvious, not only from some of the authorities from which the preceding matter has been drawn, but from the representations constantly made by the Bráhmans in their intercourse with their pupils, and in their popular expositions of Hinduism, such as the Hindu Dharma Tatva of Gangadhar Shastri Phadaké, long the Pandit of the Bombay Education Society and Elphinstone College in Bombay, published only in a few years ago.* This author tells us, for example, that the *Bráhmaṇ* has got intelligence (*buddhi*), disposing him to his own six peculiar works; that the *Kshatriya* is directed by his nature to his appointed employments; that the *Vaishya* is urged by innate inclination to his prescribed work; and that the *Shúdra* is destined by his "coarse intellect" to his mean engagements. The four first castes, he says, have existed from the creation, and those of the *Sankar* (through the *Anuloma* and the *Pratiloma*) from early times. The number of castes, he holds, is on the increase to the present day, bringing them,—by differences and distinctions of country, of custom, of conduct, of food and livelihood, of works (good, indifferent, and low), of attachment to particular gods, and of sectarial opinion,—up to "thousands upon thousands." This increase, he adds, is doubtless "according to the will of God," and not without its advantages, which should be acknowledged by the powerful Government of this country, which would find it difficult to overthrow even the most modern of them. The advantages of caste, he begs the natives to observe, are undeniable, though he does not specify them; while there is nothing disgraceful in the meanest services prescribed by the caste system, the very *Shúdras* having *Mahárs*, and *Mángs*, and others, as much subordinated to them as they

* See Hindu Dharma Tatva, pp. 60-77.

themselves are subordinated to the Brāhmins. To persons of low-caste seeking learning, not called for by their original position, he expresses no good will, as he teaches that they will upset the order of things, to the production of general inconveniences and difficulties. In all this he is but a representative man of the orthodox, and still prevailing, school. Old India directs its uniform effort to the conservation of caste with all its peculiarities and pretensions. Everything adverse to caste it interprets as a sure sign or omen of the advance of the Kali Yuga, or iron age, preparatory to the destruction of the universe, as guessed at in the curious attempts at prophecy made in the Purānas, on the first threatenings or realization of Muḥammadan conquest in the North of India.*

* The following very curious specimen of these prophecies is here worthy of attention :—

"Men of three tribes, but degraded, and Aśvins and Śūdras, will occupy Śaurāṣṭra, Avanti, Śūdra, Arbuda, and Marubhumī, and Śūdras out-castes, and Barbarians will be masters of the banks of the Indus, Dāryaka, the Chaudrābhāga and Kāśmīr. These will be contemporary monarchs, reigning over the earth; kings of charliek spirit, violent temper, and ever addicted to falsehood and wickedness. They will inflict death on women, children, and cows; they will seize upon the property of their subjects, they will be of limited power, and will for the most part rapidly rise and fall; their lives will be short, their desires insatiable, and they will display but little piety. The people of the various countries intermingling with them will follow their example, and the barbarians being powerful in the patronage of the princes, whilst purer tribes are neglected, the people will perish. Wealth and piety will decrease day by day, until the world will be wholly depraved. Then property alone will confer rank; wealth will be the only source of devotion; passion will be the sole bond of union between the sexes; falsehood will be the only means of success in litigation; and women will be objects merely of sensual gratification. Earth will be renegaded but for its mineral treasures; the Brahminical thread will constitute a Brahmin; external types (as the staff and red garb) will be the only distinctions of the several orders of life; dishonesty will be the universal means of subsistence; weakness will be the cause of dependence; menace and presumption will be substituted for learning; Brahmā will be devotion; simple ablution will be purification; mutual assent will be marriage; fine clothes will be dignity; and water afar off will be esteemed a holy spring. Amidst all castes he who is the strongest will reign over a principality thus vitiated by many faults. The people unable to bear the heavy burdens imposed upon them by their avaricious sovereigns, will take refuge among the valleys of the mountains, and will be glad to feed upon wild honey, herbs, roots, flowers, and leaves; their only covering will be the bark of trees, and they will be exposed to the cold, and wind, and sun, and rain. No man's life will exceed three and twenty years. Thus in the Kali age shall decay constantly proceed, until the human race approaches its annihilation." Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 491-482. For more matter of the same kind, and curious variations and discrepancies see pp. 622-626 of the same work, the 12th Skanda of the Bhāgavata, and the conclusion of most of the other Purānas.

V.—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN CASTE.

THE artificial system of Caste, to which the two preceding sections have been devoted, was not the growth of a single age, or even of a few centuries. The exhibition of its origin and development is the great desideratum in all researches into the history of the social life of India. It is to be regretted that the materials for such an exhibition are but of limited extent and of difficult interpretation. We arrange our notices of them, as far as practicable, in chronological order.

1. We begin with gleanings from the *Védas*.

The earliest sources of information on Indian society are, of course, the oldest portions of the vast and varied body of Indian literature, denominated the *Védas*. In referring to them for this information, which can be collected only with much labour, we must distinctly recognise their peculiar character as literary and religious works.

The word *Véda*, as we have elsewhere said, may be rendered Fount-of-Knowledge or of Vision, its root appearing in the Greek *εἰδέναι* and *εἶδω*, Latin *videre* and *video*, and English *wit*.* The works to which this name is applied, however, have no comprehensive contents suitable to their designation,—which appears to have been given them merely because of their great age and estimated venerable character, as embodying the religious songs and hymns of the ancient Indians.

* India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 15.

They are four in number, the *Rig*, *Sāma*, *Yajur*, and *Atharva*. The *Rig-Véda*, which contains their oldest material and in its oldest form, has, in its *Sanhitá* or collection, some 11,000 or 12,000 distichs or *Richas* (from whence it receives its name), arranged in *Súktas*, or Hymns, principally according to their authors and the gods to whom they are addressed. The *Yajur* (literally sacrificial) *Véda*, occurs in two collections—the *Krishna*, or Black, the more ancient, bearing also the name of the *Taittirīya* (probably derived from the school or sect by whom it was formed)—and the *Shukla*, or White, bearing also the name of the *Vájasaneyá*, of an origin similar to that now mentioned. A large portion of its materials in both forms is derived from the *Rig*, to about the half of which it is equal in the extent of matter in both of its forms united.* The *Sāma Véda*, which is said by the Bráhmans to have 7,000 verses,† draws almost the whole of its contents from the *Rig*, selecting them, however, in small portions from particular hymns, and arranging them principally for sacrificial chanting at the *soma* sacrifices by a particular class of priests.‡ The *Atharva Véda*, which is said

* In the Black *Yajur Véda*, there appear in the MS. before me to be about 1836 distichs.

† In Dr. Stevenson's edition it occupies only some 3,395 lines. In Benfey's, it has about 2735.

‡ Though most of the Hymns (*Súktas*, laudations,—from *sú* good and *ukta* spoken) of the *Rig-Véda* are intended for personal and family use, it is obvious from some of them, of later composition than their associates in the *Sanhitá* or collection, that a somewhat definite order had been adopted by the parties acting as priests when these later hymns were composed. Thus, e. g. in R. V. ii. 5. *varga* 17, we have

to have 6,015 verses, is posterior to the others in composition ; and it is mostly filled with incantations and curses and blessings. It takes only a few of its pieces from the hymns of the *Rig*, and principally from those of latest composition.

The representation of what may be called the Védic period of time is to be sought for principally in the *Rig-Véda*, because the pieces which it contains are found individually, though not in chronological arrangement, in their original form, and because it is the great fount from which the contents of the other Védas have, in so far as they represent that period, been drawn ; and to it the chief inquiries into that period have to be directed.

The chronological limits of the oldest Vedic period, properly called by Dr. Max Müller the *Chhandas*,—that in which the Chants or Songs of the Védas were first composed,—has been shown by that able scholar, in perfect consistency with the researches of other orientalists, to range from between the year 1200 to 1000 B. C.,* embracing the time, according to our received Hebrew chronology, intervening between Gideon the judge, and Solomon the king, of Israel.

The light which the Védas, viewed in connection with the language in which they are composed, throw on the ethnical relationship and geographical position, and social condition, of the Indians at that remote period,

this verse : “Thine, Agni, is the office of the *Hotr*, of the *Potri*, of the *Ritvi*, of the *Neshi* ; thou art the *Agnidhya* of the devout ; thine is the function of the *Prashastri* ; thou art the *Adhvaryu* and the *Brahma* ; and the householder in our dwelling.”

* History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 572.

though of a limited, is still of an interesting and valuable character.

The language of the Védas,—which after it enjoyed posterior culture, came to be denominated the *Sanskrita* (literally *concreata*) or cultivated,—has been found to be intimately connected, both in grammar and vocables, not only with the ancient languages of Persia, ultimately denominated the Zand and Pahlví, but with the Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, and other European languages, comprehended in the Indo-Teutonic family. Of these languages, it is not the parent, but the sister or cousin, as has been seen from their philological comparison, each of them throwing its own light on the peculiar forms and states in which their oldest words first became current, when established by conventional usage; and each of them containing proofs of subsequent invention and modification of words according to the cosmic and social experience, thought, feeling, and culture of the divergent and, in some instances, widely-separated tribes to which they belong. They are merely fragments of an older language spoken by the progenitors of these tribes, acknowledging a common origin, and long kept united by intercourse and common interests. On this matter a perfect consent of orientalists has been generated and expressed of late years. The case has been well put by Dr. Max Müller, who, after giving examples of the grammatical affinity and verbal accordance of the cognate languages now referred to, thus writes :—“ Hence all these dialects point to some more ancient language which was to them what Latin was to the Romance dialects,—only that at that early period there was no liter-

ature to preserve to us some remnants of that mother-tongue that died in giving birth to the modern Arian dialects, such as Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Windic, and Celtic. Yet, if there is any truth in inductive reasoning, that language was once a living language, spoken in Asia by a small tribe, nay originally by a small family living under one and the same roof, as the language of Camoens, Cervantes, Voltaire, and Dante, was once spoken by a few peasants who had built their huts on the Seven Hills near the Tiberis. If we compare the two tables of paradigms, the coincidences between the language of the Veda and the dialect spoken at the present day by the Lithuanian recruit at Berlin are greater by far than between French and Italian, and, after Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* has been completed, it will be seen clearly that all the essential forms of grammar had been fully framed and established before the first separation of the Arian family took place.*

The Sanskrit is more closely allied to what has been called the Zend,† the language of the remains of the ancient Zoroastrian literature, than to any of its other cognate tongues. So much is this the case that some respectable orientalists, as the late General Vans Kennedy‡ and Mr. John Romer of the Bombay Civil Service,§ have

* Müller on *Comparative Mythology* (Oxford Essays, 1856) p. 13.

† This word is widely applied by the Pársis both to the text and comments of their ancient books; but, as suggested by Dr. Müller, it is probably connected with the Sanskrit *Clihandas*, poetical metre, or Chants.

‡ *Researches into the Affinity of Languages*, pp. 162-192.

§ *Zend: is it a language?* London, 1858.

held that the Zand is merely an artificial fabrication from the Sanskrit made by the Pársi priests of India. On this matter we made the following remarks in 1842 :—
 “ Whether or not the Pársi priests in India, from their traditional reminiscences of the ancient languages could have fabricated some of the Zand writings, I shall not positively assert. There is a poverty in the expression of some of these writings, particularly of the minor liturgical pieces, which shows that their authors had no ready command of the language in which they wrote. There is an approach to Gujarátí idiom, in some instances, and to a Gujarátí corruption of Sanskrit, which at one time awakened considerable suspicions in my mind. Viewing the matter of the Zand language, however, in its general aspect, I have no hesitation in declaring that none of the exiled and depressed Pársi priests in India can be supposed to have had the ability to invent that language, with its extensive and minute grammatical forms, and with its abundant and regular analogies to the Sanskrit, Persian, Pahlví, Greek, Latin, and Germanic languages, as so distinctly evinced by Bopp and Burnouf, and evident to the general student, and to write of a state of society altogether different from that in which they themselves were placed, and in many respects dissimilar to that to which the legends of the Sháh-námah and other similar works, to which they attach some importance, refer.”*

The judgment here expressed has been amply confirmed by the latest lingual researches both in Europe and India. It is now admitted by every competent

* Author's work on the Pársi Religion, pp. 406-7.

philologist that both the Sanskrit and the Zand have not only had a common parent; but that the people among whom they originally assumed their ultimate forms were longer united in social fellowship than the peoples, diverging from the same common stock, with whom the Latin, Greek, and other Indo-Teutonic languages received their peculiar expansion and culture. Most interesting has it been to observe that the predominant race mentioned in the Védas bears throughout these works the designation of *A'ryya*, (or *A'rya*) thus indicating the country from which it came to India—the *Airya* of the Pársi sacred writings, applied both generically to the land devoted to the doctrines and rites of the *Avastá* (the Zoroastrian liturgical course and code) as opposed to *Táirya*, and specially to *Airyana Vaējó*, the pure or primitive *Airya*. This *Airya* is the *Ariya* of the Persian and the *Arriya* of the Scythian tablets of the Achæmenian Kings at Behistun*; the *Ariana* of the Greeks, recognized in the designation of the *Arian* people as early as the times of Herodotus†; and the eastern *Irán* of modern days. The value of this discovery, which belongs to European research, is enhanced and not diminished by the fact that the modern Brahmanical commentators on the Védas have interpreted the word *A'rya* merely as a designation, meaning

* See Rawlinson's Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in Journal of R. A. S. vol. X.; Westergaard, in Transactions of R. S. N. A.; and Norris on the Scythic text of the Behistun Inscriptions, in J. R. A. S. vol. xv.

† See the passages of Herodotus, referring to this matter, extracted and illustrated in Muir's Sanskrit Texts. vol. ii. pp. 289. 290.

“respectable;” as it testifies to the success with which foreigners, so long debarred from the acquisition and perusal of the Védas, are now studying them. Though, as we have elsewhere said, “There are instances in the Védas in which the word *Ārya* seems to be used in the sense of high or respectable, this is perhaps a figurative use of the word, according to the well-known analogy of our adjective “*frank*,” expressive of the qualities strikingly exhibited in the *Frank* people. In the event of *arya* or *ārya*, in the sense of high or “respectable,” being the origin of the name of the country, *Ārya* is probably equivalent to “Highlands.”” This opinion is strengthened by the notice taken of *Airyana Vaéjō* in the first fargard of the Vandidād of the Pársis, which is there mentioned as the first of the countries created by Ahura-Mazdá or Hormazd, and as having had a change of climate produced in it by Anghro-Mainyu or Ahriman, giving, according to one form of tradition mentioned in the text, ten months of winter and only two of summer, and according to another seven of summer and five of winter,—thus indicating, when the legends are interpreted, both a high elevation and a northern latitude. Professor Lassen supposes that this district was on the western slopes of the Belurtag and Mustag, in the district in which the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes rise; and that it formed the original seat of both the Iranian and Indian nations.† Its connexion with the former is rendered probable not merely by geographical considerations, but by the fact that Persian is spoken in the district to the pre-

* Author's *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, p. 17.

† Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. 526-527.

sent day by the oldest tribes of Kashghar, Yarkand, Khoten, Aksu (the Oxus land), Turfan, and Khámil.*

On the course of the spread of the Aryas from the quarter now mentioned, but little light can now be shed. Their locations as comprehended in the districts known to the early Iranians are thus enumerated in the *Pársi Vandidád*. We give their names in parallel columns, with the identifications which have been made of them by several distinguished literary authorities.

| <i>Vandidád.</i> | <i>Pársis. (a)</i> | <i>Burnouf. (b)</i> | <i>Lassen. (c)</i> | <i>Haug. (d)</i> |
|--|----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| 2 Airyana Vaéjō. Iran..... | Ariana..... | Ariana..... | Ariana..... | Ariana. |
| 3 Sughdhō..... | Shurik | Sogdiana..... | Sogd..... | Gan of Sugh- dhō.† |
| 3 Môuru..... | Marwa | Country of the two Marwas. | Maru, Marw | |
| 4 Bákhdī..... | Bokhárá .. | Bactra | Bactra | Bactra. |
| 5 Nigái | Nesapur .. | Nisaia | Nisaia | Nisaia. |
| 5 Haráy u..... | Haleb (Aleppo) | Land of the Zarangæ and Drangæ.‡ | Herat | Aria (of the Greeks) Herat. |
| 7 Vaékereta, the Duzhaka (Hell land) | Kábul..... | Sejistán | Sejistán, with its capital Dushak. | Sejistán. |
| 8 Uvâ..... | Orwé | | Unknown..... | Kábul |
| 9 Khešta, with Behrkána..... | Gargána or Jargán. | | Hyrcania..... | Kandahár. |
| 10 Haraqaiti | Hermánd .. | Arachosia | Arachotus | Arachosia. |
| 11 Hæstumat | Sistân | Etymandros (near Hermánd- river. | Etymandros .. | Hilmand (Valley, near river of same name). |
| 12 Raghá | Rei ¶ | | ¶ Páqzi | Rhagæ of the classics, pre- sent Rei. |
| 13 Chakhra | Chin | | Chinrem of Fer- dansi. | Chorás- dansi. |
| 14 Varcna | Kirman or Padashkhir- gar. | | Varuna of the Indians. | Ghilán. |
| 15 Hapta-Hendū (Seven Rivers) | Hindustán.. | The Seven In- dies. | The Seven In- dies. | Indus Country (seven rivers). |
| 16 (Described) .. | Khorásán .. | | | Near "the cir- cumambient ocean." |

* See Lassen, *ut supra*.

† Of Ptolemy.

‡ Having for its dwelling-place Sughdo.

§ In Etymology corresponding with the Sanskrit *Saruru*.

¶ Near Teherán.

(a) Author's *Pársi Religion*, p. 294.

(b) *Commentaire sur l'Yagna*.

(c) *Indische Alterthumskunde* 4, p. 527-26.

(d) First Chapter of *Vandidád* in Bunzen's *Egypt*, vol. iii. pp. 473-506.

The Baron Bunsen* thinks that the districts above mentioned were the halting places of the A'ryas in their gradual march and progress, by extension, to the land of the Seven Rivers ; but without taking this easy view of what may be only a general geographical notice according to the notions of the ancient Zoroastrians, we may nevertheless refer to the first fargard of the Vandidád as throwing some light on the expansion of the A'ryas in the direction of India, into which they probably entered either by the western passes of the Hindu Kush, by the eastern road leading from Kabul to the Indus, or from Hirát, round the promontories of the Paropamisus through Arachosia to Ghazna, and thence by the Boland Pass to the Indus.†

On the position of the A'ryas in their original Indian seats, we have lately thus written :—

“ At the time at which the earlier portions of the Védas were composed, the A'ryas were principally located on the banks of the various affluents of the Indus and the province now denominated the Panjáb. Though Sáyana A'charya, the great Bráhmanical commentator on the Védas, who flourished so late as the fourteenth century after Christ, interprets the rivers mentioned in the Védas as the great streams of modern India, the text of the Veda gives him no authority for so doing. The rivers of the Védas seem all to have been before the immediate observation of the writers of the Hymns (*Sáhtas*) of which the collection of the Rig Veda is com-

* Egypt iii p. 459-99.

† These are the routes indicated by Lassen. (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 531). Dr. M. Müller (*Hist. of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 15.) also joins with them the narrow passes of the Himálaya.

posed. ‘*inou Indra hast rescued the kine, thou hast won the Soma juice ; thou hast let loose the seven rivers to flow.**’ ‘*Thou didst traverse ninety and nine streams like a hawk.*’ ‘His exploits are most glorious, in that he has replenished the *four rivers* of sweet water, spread over the surface of the earth.’† “All (sacrificial) viands concentrate in Agni (the god of fire) as the *seven great rivers* [united] flow into the ocean.”‡ In the Panjáb, we have four, or five, or seven, or more, great rivers, according as we cross it to the North or South. It is obviously this district which is denominated in the Vándidad of the Pársis, as above, the *Hapta Heúduş* or Seven Indies, the word Heúdu springing from *Sindhu*, the Sanskrit name of the Indus. Indeed, the Indus is specifically mentioned in the Vêda as that river on the banks of which some of the composers of the Vêdas actually lived. Thus, we have, “May *Sindhu*, the renowned bestower of wealth hear us (fertilizing our) broad fields with water.”¶ “I repeat with a (willing) mind the praises of Bhávya [a king] dwelling on the banks of the *Sindhu*.”|| In one of the hymns of the Rig-Vêda, three specific streams are thus mentioned as connected with the worshippers of the Vêdas :—‘Gloriously shine forth,

* Wilson’s Rig-Vêda, Vol. 1. p. 88. See also p. 99.

† Ibid. p. 168.

‡ Ibid. p. 189.

§ Vándidad, 1st fargard.

¶ Sáyana Achárya,* as hinted by Prof. Wilson, Rig-Vêda, ii. p. 3, understands by the word *Sindhu* here, जलभिमानि देवः, the god presiding over waters. Even in this sense, however, it is nothing but the personified Indus.

|| सिन्धवश्चि. Rig-Vêda, 2d asht. 1st adh. 11th v.

O Agni, in the places in which the descendants of Manu, [the first or representative Aryan man] inhabit, on the banks of the *Drishadvat*, the *Alpya*, and the *Sarasvatī*.* These streams, I am of opinion, are connected with the south-western and not with the south-eastern system of Indian rivers. Two of them are thus noticed by Manu : 'The country between the divine rivers *Sarasvatī* and *Drishadvatī* formed by the gods, is called *Brahmāvarta*.'† The *Sarasvatī* is the *Sarsuti* north-west of *Thāneshar* (*Sthāneshvar*), as noticed by Professor Wilson in his *Vishnu Purāṇa*.‡ It seems, from the manner in which it is sometimes spoken of in the *Vēdas*, to have been a favourite with the A'ryas ;§ and this probably because of some resemblance,—such perhaps as that of losing itself in the sands, for it etymologically means a lake,—which it bore to the *Haraqaiti*, a river in the original Airya, of which it was the namesake.|| The *Drishadvatī* is supposed

* *दृषद्वत्या मानुष आपयाया सरस्वत्या रैवदग्ने दिदीहि*. Text of *Rig-Veda* by Müller, vol. ii, p. 747.

† Manu ii. 17. Sir William Jones says, "frequented by the gods," but the original is *देवनिर्मित*, formed by the gods.

‡ Wilson's *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. 180.

§ Vasiṣṭha devotes to it alone two hymns in the 5th *Ashtaka* of the *Rig-Vēda*.

|| For the identification of the name *Haraqaiti* with *Sarasvatī*, we are indebted to Burnouf (*Commentaire sur le Yagna, Notes et Éclaircissements*, p. xcii.) From *Haraqaiti*, the district of *Arachottā* of the Greeks (Arrian. Exped. Alex. iii. cap. 23 ; Strab. lib. xv. c. 2 ; Dionys. Perieg. v. 1096 ; Plin. lib. vi. cap. 25) derived its name. Burnouf, while ascribing a common origin to the names *Haraqaiti* and *Sarasvatī*, felt unable to say whether Persia or India can claim the original. Noticing, however, the district of *Harōyo*,

to have been in the neighbourhood of the Sarasvatī. I am not aware that the Apayā has been identified, though it may be the Vipāpā, mentioned in the Mahābhārata* along with the Drishadvatī and Vipāshā. In another of the hymns of the R̥ig-Vēda, the rivers *Vipat*,—the equivalent according to etymology and to the Brahmanical commentator on the Vēda, of the *Vipāshā* of the Mahābhārata, and the origin of the present Beās,—the *Hyphasis* or *Bibasis* of the Greeks, and the *Chhutudrī*—in later times the *Shatudrī* or *Satlej*,—are mentioned as holding a conversation with the sage Vishvāmītra, the author of many of the Vēdic hymns.† The *Vipāshī* and the dwellers on the *Vitastā*,—the *Hydaspes*, or Jhelum, —and the *Saryu*, (probably not that near Ayodhyā), are mentioned in a hymn of Vāmdeva.‡ It is thus seen that the Panjāb and its neighbourhood formed the original habitat of the Indian Aryas. The rivers of the south-

mentioned in the Vandidād of the Pārsīs, and identifying the word with *Sarayu* the name of an Indian river (now the *Sarjū*), he justly observes that the Zand *Harōyo* is the more ancient form of the word as far as the vowels are concerned (p. ciii. et seq.) Lassen concurs in the views of Burnouf. He notes also the agreement of the Zand *Haragūti* with the *Harakhēatis* of the cuneiform inscriptions and of the people, too, of these inscriptions called *Hariwa* (in the plural), contracted for *Harayawa*, from *Harayu* the river, now named the *Herirud*. The name of *Harayu* (*Sarayu* in Sanskrit), he thinks was given in after times by the Indians to the river near Ayodhyā, in commemoration of that of Arachosia.

* Bhishma Parva, ii. 342. Langlois, in his translation of the R̥ig-Vēda, tom. ii p. 230, says, "Je ne sais quelle est la rivière qui portait le nomme d'Apaya.

† R̥ig-Vēda, Muller's text, vol. ii. p. 828.

‡ R̥ig-Vēda 3d Adh. 6th, Asht. 20th—22d. v.

eastern system are brought to notice in the more advanced portions of the Rig-Véda. The *Yamuná* and the *Gomatí* are first mentioned by Sháyaváshva, "a descendant of Atri," in the fourth *Ashtaka*.* The *Gangá* (Ganges) is only once mentioned, and that in the eighth or last *Ashtaka*.† I have seen no allusion to the tiger in the *Védas*, though occasional mention is made in them of the lion. This is a presumption that the *Rishis*, at the time of their composition, had not yet reached the land of the tiger. The distinctive lake *Sharyánávati* is sometimes

* Rig-Véda 4th *ashtak*, 3d *adhy*. (Müller, ii. 452.) The *Yamuná* is also mentioned by *Vasishtha*, viewed by the Hindu legends as a contemporary of *Vishvámitra*, Rig-Véda 5th *asht*. 2d *adh*. In reference to the *Gomatí*, Professor Wilson 27th. *Varga*. (iii. p. 346) says: "It would be the *Gomatí* river in Oude," or it may be a river of the same appellation, more to the north-west "rising in Kulu, a feeder of the *Beyah*, or *Vyáha*."

† This is in a hymn addressed to the personified Rivers, the 4th of the 3rd. *adhy*. In this hymn, the *Sindhu* (which is in the masculine gender, while all the others are in the feminine) is spoken of as the chief river. With it are invoked other rivers in the following order: —*Gangá*; *Yamuná*; *Sarasvatí*; *Shatadri*, with the *Parushní*, the *Hydraotes* from "*Írávati*"; the *Asikní*, the *Chandrabhāga*, (identified from the "*Akesines*," as by Lassen), and the *Marudoridhá*, the *Vitastá* (*Hydaspes* for *Vydaspes*); the *Arjikiya*, with the *Sushoma*, the *Trishtána*, the *Rásá*, the *Svétí*, and the *Kubhá* (associated with the *Sindhu*) [probably the *Kophes*]; and the *Gomatí*, and the *Krumu*. The *Rásá* several times alluded to in the *Védas*, the *Kubhá*, the *Antábhá*, the *Krumu*, and the *Sarayu* are mentioned by *Sháyaváshva* in the hymn following that in which he mentions the *Yamuná*. Rig-Véda, 4th *asht*. 3d *adh*. 12th *v*. These in all probability were connected with the same (the *Sindhu*) system of rivers. In R. V. 4th *asht*. 7th *adh*. 26th *varga*, the adjective *Gángya*, probably meaning "flowing, or swift, river," occurs.

mentioned as in the dominions of the pious Rijika. It is supposed to have been in what was afterwards known as the country of Kurukshétra."*

The A'ryas in India, if we may judge from the Vêda and other later works, take little or no notice of their entrance into the country from other regions of the world. Yet the intelligent reader of the Vêdas can easily infer that when the materials of these works were prepared, the A'ryas of whom they treat were not in their primitive country. They counted their years by "winters," indicating a country in which the cold season was peculiarly marked.† They laid great stress on the *ashvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice like the northern tribes. Compared with their neighbours they had a white or fair complexion. They were not fully or peaceably established in the territories in which they were then found. The facts to which I have now referred have not escaped the notice of the learned and cautious translator of the Rig-Vêda, Professor H. H. Wilson. "That they (the ancient Indians), he says, had extended themselves from a more northern ace is rendered probable from the peculiar expression used, on more than one occasion, in soliciting long life, when the worshipper asks for a hundred *winters* (*himas*), a boon not likely to be desired by the natives of a warm climate. They appear also to have been a fair-complexioned people, at least comparatively, and foreign

* 7th asht. 2d Aḥ. 5th varḡa. India Three Thousand Years ago, p. 21-25.

† Dr. Stevenson was, I believe, the first person to direct attention to this fact. See his translation of the Sâma-Vêda, p. 86. In addition to this first translation of the Sâma, we have that of Dr. Benfey, in German, accompanied by a critical apparatus.

invaders of India, as it is said that Indra (the god of the Ether or Firmament) divided the fields among his *white-complexioned* friends after destroying the indigenous barbarian races, for such there can be little doubt we are to understand by the expression *Datsyu*, which so often recurs, and which is often defined to signify one who not only does not perform religious rites but attempts to harass their performers.* The *Dasyus*, here mentioned, are doubtless the *Daqys* of the *Pársi* sacred writings, and the *Dahyas* of the *Behistun* tablets, rendered by "countries" or "provinces," probably of an exterior position like the *Góim* or *Gentiles* of the *Hebrews*. They were not altogether barbarians; for they had distinctive cities and other establishments of at least a partial civilization, though the *Áryas*, lately from more bracing climes than those which they inhabited, proved too strong for them.†

That the *Áryas* of India had been most intimately connected with the *Iranians*, we have decided proof, not only in the relationships of their language, and their common designation now adverted to, but in much which (with certain antagonisms easily understood on the principle of *posterior religious speculation and contest) was common in their early religious creed and observances. Many of the gods, or objects of worship, of the *Véda* and the *Avastá* are identical. Each of these works has its god of Fire in *Agni* and *Atars*, which, however, are probably not etymo-

* Wilson's *Rig-Véda*, vol. i. p. xlii.

† Author's *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, p. 19. In *Rig-Véda*, 3d asht. 1st adh. 12th *varga*, Indra and Agni are represented as overthrowing ninety cities of which *Dásas* were the lords (*dása patañ purah*).

logically connected with one another. *Vāyu* or *Vātu*, the Vedic Wind, is the Zandic *Vayá* or *Vāta*. The Indian designations of the *Suy*, *Asura*, *Mitra*, *Sár*, *Súrya* and *Szar*, find their equivalents in the Iranian *Ahura*, *Mithra*, *Hvare* (gen. *háró*), often given as *Hvare-Kshaéta*, the ruling or glorious sun. Corresponding with the Sanskrit *Ushas*, the Dawn, we have the Zandic *Usháongh*. The moon (*Chandra*) *mas* of the Veda, is recognized as the *Máongh* of the Avastá. The *Apah* or Waters, personified in the Védas, and the *Aptyas* there represented as water gods, have as their correspondents, in the Avastá, *Apó* and *A'thmya*. Among the personifications of the Veda is *Aghá*,* the goddess of evil, corresponding in some respects (though not with the dualistic notions of Zoroaster) with the Ahriman of the Pársis, or in Zend *Anghro-Mainyu*, the ugly-minded or evil-minded-one. In the Vedic *Varuna* (the *ὐρανός* of the Greeks) we have, in the idea of boundless heavenly space, the correspondent of the *Varena* of the Avastá. The *Vishvê-Dévas*, spoken of in the Védas as the Collective gods, and sometimes as special gods, the Protectors of men, correspond, with numerical and other modifications, with the *Amshás-pands* and *Izads* of the Pársis.† The *Pitris*, or typical

* See Note in India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 72.

† “The Zand word for *Isail* is *yazata*, which means an object of worship. It corresponds exactly with the Sanskrit यज्ञ, *yajata*, which occurs in the Rig-Veda (Sauhita B. I. ch. iii. h. 34, st. 7) and which is explained by Sáyana the commentator, by यष्टय, *yashtavya*, and rendered by Rosen *sacris celebrandus*. M. Burnouf translates it by “digne qu'on lui offre le sacrifice.” See Journal Asiatique, Octobre 1840. The Zand for *Amshás-pand* is *amesha-spešta*. The words of which this name is composed, are correctly represented by Edal Dáru (Manjázát-i-Zarthusht, p. 20.)

ancestors often addressed in the *Védas*, correspond with the *Pársi Faruhars*.* The *Soma*, as a plant, and as the fermented juice of a plant, much used in sacrifice, and as a deified power delighting god and exhilarating man, even to inspiration, stands in the same relationship in the *Haoma* of the *Avastá*. In the ninth Há of the *Yagna* of the *Pársis*, *Haoma*, as a god, is represented as teaching Zoroaster that the first person who consulted him was *Vivangháo*, the father of *Yimó*, or Jamshid; the second, *A'thuya*, the father of *Thrayétyaonó*, or Faridun; the third *Sám*, the father of *Urrákhsyo* and *Kereçáçpó*; and the fourth *Paourusaçpó*, the father of *Zarathustra*, or Zoroaster.† In the *Véda*, most of these concepts appear with their own peculiarities. The correspondent in the *Véda* of *Yimo*,—who with the Iranians was their first or ideal man, the great establisher of their colonization and agriculture and pecoriculture,—is *Yama*, the Subduer, or God of human Destiny, dealing with the human race, not in its earthly golden age, but in its ultimate state beyond the grave.‡ The father of *Yama*, in the *Véda*, is *Virashvat*, the *Viranghat* or *Vivangháo* of the *Yagna*. The wife of *Yama*, in the *Véda*, is *Yamí* the wife or sister of *Yimo*, and (to judge from the *Pársi*

by 'exalted immortals,' [or existences, or saints].” Author's work on *Pársi Religion*, p. 129.

* The nominative singular is in Zand, *Fravashis*. The noun is feminine. The Zand names, or rather denominations, of the *Faruhars* have a figurative meaning.

† Author's *Pársi Religion*, p. 400.

‡ See Westergaard on *Ancient Iranian Mythology*, in *J. B. B. R.* A. S. 1853.

Bundéshné) *Jeme* or *Jemaké** *Trita*; or, *Traitana* (the adjective form of the same name), is a mythological personage of the Véda associated with *Yama*, and, as pointed out by Dr. Roth, the correspondent of *Thrayét-aona*.† *Kereçáçpo*, as shown by the same scholar, has also a figurative position in the Véda. *Nabánazdistá* and *Nábhánédishtha* the son of Manu (R. V. viii. 1.29) are also remarkable mythical accordances, both in the Avastá and Véda.‡ The form of the hymns of the Yagna and the Yagts of the Avastá, as noticed many years ago, has much resemblance to that of the Véda. The designations, both characteristic and technical, of the priests and worshippers of the Véda and of the Avastá often agree.§ So do the words used in these works expressive of praise and sacrifice|| And so do some of the common instruments of worship, as the

* Dr. Roth, to whom we are greatly indebted for the illustration both of the Véda and Avastá, first brought this coincidence to notice in the Z. D. M. G. vol. iv. p. 417.

† See Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges. band ii. s. 216 ; and abstract of Roth's paper by Dr. J. Murray Mitchell in Journal of B. B. R. A. S. July, 1852. *A'thrya*, (in Persian *Atbm* or *Abtin*,) as mentioned in the passage from the Yagna quoted above, is the father of *Thraçtyaono*. The patronymic of *Trita*, in the Véda (R. V. i. 7. v. 21) is *A'ptya*, a water ruler. *Trita* in the Véda fights against the aerial serpent (*ahis*) or enemy, carrying off the cows (clouds) which would otherwise yield their nourishing milk ; and *Thraçtiona* opposes the *ashi-dahak*, the destroying (earthly) serpent, the author of evil.

‡ See Lassen's Ind. Altherthumskunde, i. 516.

§ See Pársi Religion by the Author, pp. 226-227. To the instances there given that of the Sanskrit *Atharva* and the Zand *A'thrava*, a priest, literally a Fireman (ut sup. p. 209), may be added.

|| Pársi Religion, pp. 268-271.

Havni of the Bráhmans and the *Havana* of the Pársis.* Even the divergency and antagonism of the religion of Zoroaster from that of the Rishis of the Védas, is in many particulars like that which in the course of speculation and reform might easily appear among a people originally associated together, but afterwards following a peculiar religious and social development. The word *Déva* (or *Devas*), as has often been shown, must have been a designation in the original Iranian race of any Divinity before even the separation from one another of the peoples known as Greeks and Romans (in whose languages it appears as *θεός* and *Deus*) ; and it could only be the peculiar mythological and idolatrous application of the term by the progenitors of the Indians, or by the Indians themselves, which led the Zoroastrians to employ it as a designation of a Devil. In the Védas the word *Asura* is applied to the Sun and Fire, in the sense probably of Lord or Master ; but the Bráhmans, as if retaliating against the Zoroastrians, who had applied it to their good God, in the form of *Ahura-Mazda*, or multiscient Lord, made it afterwards the designation of a Devil.† Even in many of the hymns of the Védas, the terrestrial enemies of the A'ryas, as well as their unseen enemies, are denominated *Asuras*, as will immediately appear. In illustration of the connection of the Iranians, and A'ryas, other circumstances, bearing especially on physiognomy, could, if necessary, be brought forward. The great fact to be borne in mind is, that the A'ryas are first found in India as strangers

* Compare Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa, vii. 4. 19, with Vandidad, farg. xiv.

† See Note in India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 78.

and foreigners not fully established in the land, as will still more appear from passages now immediately to be adduced from the *Rig-Véda*.

In the *Rig-Véda*, as might be expected from the fact that it consists of laudations and sacrificial songs of the Gods, no formal and direct information on the early social state of the Aryan community is to be expected. It is only from poetical and historical allusions there occurring that anything can be learned respecting the society of their own day or of more ancient times. These allusions, however, are pretty numerous, and when compared together productive of curious and valuable results. In collecting the information to be found in the *Véda* bearing on the origin and growth of Caste, it is necessary to look to the Aryan community in two distinct aspects,—that which respects its connection with the exterior, partly amalgamated, or hostile, tribes with which it came in contact, and that which respects its own social condition and development.

The A'ryas, we find from the *Rig-Véda*, though in some respects an interesting people, and considerably advanced in civilization,* had the pride of race in an extravagant degree. They were an aspiring, a domineering, and an intolerant people, with strong antipathies of race and religion, and showing great contempt and hatred of the other tribes with whom they came in contact. As this pride of race, violence, and intolerance were special features of Caste when formally established, it may be well for us to collect the principal notices which we have of their earliest manifestations in the *Véda* now mentioned.

“ Discriminate O Indra between the *A'ryas*, and those who are

* See *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, pp. 29-34.

Dasyus : punishing those who perform no religious rites (*avritān*), compel them to submit to the sacrifices ; bē thou the powerful, the encourager of the sacrificer." (*Rig-Vēda*, asht 1. adh. 4. *varga* 11.)

"Munificent hero (Indra), who easily[†] conquerest thy foes, thou didst put to flight (under Kutsa) the *Dasyus* in battle." (*Ib.* i. 5. 4.)

"Indra, the invoked by many, attended by the moving Maruts, having attacked the *Dasyus* and the *Shinyis*, slew them with his thunderbolt : the thunderer then divided the fields with his white complexioned friends." (*Ib.* 1. 7. 11.)*

"(We invoke Indra) who is the lord of all moving and breathing creatures, who first recovered the kine for the *Brahman*, (the repeater of the *Brahma* or word†), and who slew the humbled *Dasyus*." (*i.* 7. 12.)

"Armed with the thunderbolt, and confident in his strength, he (Indra) has gone on destroying the cities of the *Disas*. O Indra, the wise, the thunderer, cast thy shaft against the *Dasyu*, and augment the strength and glory of the *A'rya*." (*i.* 7. 16.)

"Sweeping away the *Dasyu* with the thunderbolt, you Ashwins have bestowed brilliant light upon the *A'rya*." (*i.* 8. 17.)

"Indra, who in a hundred ways is the protector in battles, in heaven conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the sacrificing *A'rya*. Punishing the destitute of rites he subjected the black skin to Maṇu (the *A'ryan* or privileged man.) (*ii.* 1. 19.)

"Destroy, Indra, the tawny-coloured, fearfully roaring *Pishāchi* ; annihilate all the *Rakshasas*." (*ii.* 1. 22.‡)

"Indra, lord of steeds, invigorated by our animating praise, thou hast slain those who make thee no offerings, and disturb thy worshippers." (*ii.* 4. 17.¶)

• "Consume, mighty one, the irreligious *Dasyu*, as a wooden vessel is burnt by fire." (*ii.* 4. 18.) "Thou hast disclosed light to the *A'rya* :

* The translation of this verse here given is that of Professor H. H. Wilson, which I think substantially correct, as *Shinyu* (which may be translated "destroyer", as alternatively in Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. ii. pp. 384), is evidently coupled in the *Vēda*, with *Dasyus*, used in a personal sense.

† Sāyana A'chārya (Muller's Text of *Rig-Vēda*, i. p. 807 applies *Brahmana*, here used, to the "*Brāhmanajdti* or *Brāhman* Caste. But this is going too far, on modern Brahmanical principles.

‡ Here both *Pishāchis* and *Rakshasas* (soon viewed by the Hindus as devils) are seemingly spoken of as a people.

¶ Wilson's R. V. ii. p. 168.

the *Dasyu* has been placed at thy left hand. Let us honour those who, through thy protection, surpass all their rivals, as the *Dasyus* are surpassed by the *A'ryas*." (ii. 6. 6.)

"Encountering the (*Asurus*), carrying off Dabhíti, he burnt all their weapons in a kindled fire, and enriched (the prince) with their cattle, their horses, and their chariots." (ii. 6. 15.) "Thou hast slain the *Dasyus*, Chumuri and Dhuni, having cast them into sleep : thou hast protected Dabhíti." (ii. 6. 16.)

"He (Indra) slew the *Dasyus*, and destroyed their iron cities. (ii. 6. 26.)

"Pluck up the *Rakshas*, Indra, by the root ; cut asunder the middle, blight the summit : to whatever remote regions thou hast driven the sinner, cast upon the hater of the (ceremonial) word (*brahma*) thy consuming weapon. (iii. 2. 4.)

"Having slain the *Dasyus*, he protected the *A'rya* colour (or race, *varna*) (iii. 11. 17.)*

"What do the cattle for thee among the *Kikāṭas* ; they yield no milk for the offerings to Soma ; and they heat no fire (for the sacrifice) ; bring (also) the wealth of Pramagandha (the usurer?) and subdue to us, Maghavat (Indra), the vile branch (or stock) of the people" (*naicháshákam*).†

"Defending him (a poet, *kavi*,) with thy protection, the guileful, impious (*Máyávanbrahma*, (mad against the Brahma) *Dasyu* has been destroyed in the contest for the spoil. With a mind resolved on killing the *Dasyu* thou comest..... thou hast swiftly destroyed the *Dasyus*. (iii. 5. 18.)

"Indra, O Soma, has slain the *Dasyus* in battle : Agni has consumed them before the noon." (iii. 6. 17.)

"Trasadasyu† has bestowed upon many the ancient (gifts) which were obtained by the liberal (prince) through your (favour Heaven

* See p. 13.

† On this important passage Prof. H. H. Wilson (R. V. iii., p. 86) has the following note :—The *Kikāṭas* are said by Sáyana, following Yáska, Nir. vi. 32, to be countries inhabited by *Anáryas*, people who do not perform worship, who are infidels, *Nástikas* [rather non-Aryans] : *Kikāṭa* is usually identified with South Behar, showing, apparently, that *Vaidik* Hinduism had not reached the province when this was said ; or as *Kikāṭa* was the fountain head of *Buddhism*, it might be asserted that the *Buddhists* were here alluded to, if it were not wholly incompatible with all received notions of the earlier date of the *Védas*. " *Kikāṭa* I think, must have been nearer to the earlier

and Earth) ; you too have given a horse, a son, a weapon, (for the destruction of the *Dasyus*, fierce, and foe-subduing." (iii. 7. 11.)

"Twofold is my empire [says the King *Trasadasyu*, so called from harassing the *Dasyus*] :—that of all the *Kshatriya* people, and all the immortals are ours ; the gods associate me with the works of *Varuna*. I rule over those of the human form." (iii. 7. 17.)

"With the thunderbolt thou hast confounded the voiceless (or noseless) *Dasyus*, thou hast bestowed in battle the speech-bereft foes. (iv. 1 24.)*

"Indra, the subduer of all, the *Arya* (or Lord) leads the *Dāsa* according to his wish." (iv. 2 4.)†

"Thou (Indra) art he who hast quickly subdued the *Dasyus* : thou art the chief one who hast given preservation to the *A'rya*." (iv. 6. 4.)

"Make hot the heavens, earth, and firmament, for the oppressive race : parent-of-showers, consume them everywhere with thy radiance, make the heaven and the firmament too hot for the haters-of-the-Brahma. Thou hast rendered human enemies whether *Dāsas* or *A'ryas* easy to be overcome." (iv. 6. 4 ‡)

"Glorified by us, he (Indra) bows not down to the robust nor to the firm, nor to the persevering (worshipper) who is instigated by the *Dasyus*..... Overthrow, on the part of the *A'rya*, all the *Dāsa* races everywhere abiding." (iv. 6. 18-19.)

"Thou hast destroyed the hundred impregnable cities of the *Dasyu Shambara*." (iv. 7-8.)§

seats of the *Aryas* than South Behar. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin (Muir's Texts ii. xxii.) thinks that the country of the *Kikāṣas* must probably have been in Koshala or Andh. In rendering the above verse, we have compared the versions of Prof. H. H. Wilson and Mr. Muir with the original.

* *Anāso dasyuṃ amriṇaḥ*. *Anāsa*, *Sāyana* says, means *asyarahitān*, devoid or deprived of words, *asya*, face or mouth, being put by metonymy for *śabda*, the sound that comes from the mouth, articulate speech, alluding possibly to the uncultivated dialects of the barbarous tribes.... Prof. Müller (Universal History of Man, i. 346) referring to this text proposes to separate *anasā* into *a*, non, *nasa*, the nose, noseless. Wilson's R. V. iii. p. 276.

† इंद्रो विश्वस्य दमिता विमेषगो यथा वशं नयति दासमार्यः ॥

‡ आ जनाय दुःहणे पार्थिवानि दिव्यानि दपिषी अंतरिक्षा

तथा वृषन्विश्वतः शोचिषा तान्ब्रह्मद्विषे शोचय त्मामपश्च ॥

§ "Shambara is more usually styled an *Asura*, and hence it would appear that *Dasyu* and *Asura* are synonymous." Prof. H.H. Wilson R. V. iii. p. 444.

“Agni has dispersed the impious, the chattering, faithless, riteless, non-sacrificing Panis, the *Dasyus*.” (v. 2. 9.)

“Thou hast, for the sake of Dabhīti, vanquished the *Dasyus* Chumuri and Dhuni.” (v. 2. 29.)

“Put an end to the enmity which divides the *Dasyus* and the *A'ryas*.” (v. 6. 4.)

“Indra and Soma burn the Rakshas, destroy them, throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkness. Hew down the mad men, suffocate them, kill them, hurl them away, and slay the voracious. Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demon ! may he burn and hiss like an oblation in the fire ! Put your everlasting hatred on the villain, who hates the Brahman [or rather *brahma*, etc.], who eats flesh (raw), and whose look is abominable.”* (v. 7. 5.)

“Favour the prayer (Brahma), favour the service ; kill the *Rakshasas* ; drive away the evil.” (vi. 3. 16.)

“Thou, Indra, favourest our rites ; thou satisfiest (by retribution) thy revilers ; thou most excellent and powerful hero, hast smitten the *Dāsa* in the middle of his thigh. Let Parvata, our friend Parvata, with a powerful stroke, strike down from the height the riteless, inhuman, non-sacrificing, godless *Dasyu*.” (vi. 5. 9-10.)

“Thou, Indra, art the friend of the offering, the Lord of heaven ; thou overturnest the stable cities ; thou destroyest the *Dasyu*, and givest increase to Manu, thou Lord of heaven.” (vi. 7. 1.)

“O Indra, object of our praises, let the godless (*adīva*), whether he be an *A'rya*† or a *Dasyu*, who wages war against us, be vanquished by us.” (vii. 8. 11.)

“Thou hast for the sake of the *A'ryas* vanquished the *Dasyus*. (viii. 2. 19.)

“I, Indra, come recognizing and marking the distinction of the *Dasyu* and the *A'rya*. (viii. 4. 4.)

“This person humbled and subdued the roaring *Dāsa* (here viewed as an aerial monster) with six eyes and three heads.” (viii. 5. 14.)‡

* In this passage the spirited translation of Dr. Max Müller (Last Results of the Turanum Researches, p. 344) has been adopted. A closer translation of the same import is, with the original, given by Dr. John Muir (Sanskrit Texts, ii. 406)

† In the *Iṣṭi-Vēda*, particularly the seventh and eight *Aṣṭakas*, *A'ryas* hostile to the *Rishis* are mentioned as above.

‡ Several other passages of this character occur. See Muir's Texts ii. 403,

The *Arya* has been able to measure himself with the *Dasyu*. Indra, the ally of Rishishvan, has destroyed the villages of Pipra, the magical (*Mayinu*) *Asura*, (viii. 7. 26.)

These passages, and others of a like nature which could be adduced, not only bring to notice, in the neighbourhood of the early Indian settlements of the *Aryas*, the existence of races different in colour, creed, and customs from these *Aryas*, but reveal the deep-seated hatred and contempt of these races by the *Aryas*, who delighted to wage war against them on religious grounds, rejoiced in their conquest and overthrow, and even applied, in the progress of time, their names and designations to the imaginary aerial and spiritual beings which, in their superstitious imaginings, they believed to be in a constant state of hostility to their own persons and social and religious institutions. The violent antipathy and hate of race and religion, thus early manifested, have continued to be among the most potent and injurious elements of Caste to the present day. The *Aryas*, and the tribes taken by them into alliance, have ever nourished and cherished them, particularly as applied to the lower tribes of the country, in the different provinces of India in which they have been established,

• It will have been noticed that the prevailing epithet of the people, or peoples, to whom in the preceding extracts the *Aryas* are represented as opposed, is that of *Dasyu*. We have already mentioned what we consider the original meaning of the denomination—*Gentes*, those of the country,* or Aborigines or *Natives*. The Iranian correspondents of the name warrant us to attach to it this meaning. With reference to its peculiar implica-

* See above, p. 88.

tions, however, Dr. Max Müller says, "*Dasyu* in the Vêda is *enemy*."* The Brâhmans, to the present day, marking their traditional animus, make it the equivalent of *slave* and *robber*.

Rashhasa, it will also have been seen, is another denomination given to the tribes to whom the A'ryas placed themselves in hostility. Etymologically it means the "strong," the "powerful," the "protecting," the "gigantic." As applied to an aboriginal people, it is used in the Vêda very much as the word *Rephaim* is used in the Hebrew scriptures. By the A'ryas it soon had a purely mythological meaning attached to it, characteristic of both terrestrial and aerial "monsters." In the Shatpatha Brâhmaṇa of the White Yajur Vêda the *Rakshasas* are represented as "prohibitors," that is "prohibitors of sacrifice."†

Asura is another denomination given by the A'ryas to their enemies. It is somewhat difficult to ascertain its import. We have already found it used as a designation of the Sun, probably in the sense of Lord or Master, its root being possibly *as*, to be. Perhaps, like the word *Náyak* (dux) in modern times, it was in this sense applied to the aboriginal tribes on account of the number of their heads of clans.‡ With the A'ryas, how-

* Comparative Mythology in Oxford Essays, 1856 p. 24. Dr. M. with the Persian equivalents in his eye says, "It is hardly doubtful that the Greek *δαιμόνιος* represents a Sanskrit title *dâsa-pati*, lord of nations."

† See Weber in Z. D. M. G. iii. 289, sq.

‡ The word *Nák*, the contraction of *Náyak*, is the common epithet (of respect) used by the lowly Mahárs of the Maráthá country. From the abundance of *Náks* connected with the Bhills of the Báriá jungles, east of Baroda, they are called *Nákardas*.

ever, the *Asurās* were soon viewed as wicked, malicious spirits, as opposed to the *Śrās*, or deities.

From the references which are made in the *Védas* to the power, resources, appliances, and residences of the *Dasyus*, it is manifest that they were found in no contemptible position by the *A'ryas* when they entered India. The subjection of them by the *A'ryas* required time and strength for its accomplishment.

The state of society among the *A'ryas* themselves now requires our particular attention. In connexion with them such questions as the following occur :—Do the symptoms of Caste, or of tendencies to Caste, appear in the *A'ryan* community as it is first brought to notice in the *Védas*? Were *Bráhmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas*, *Shúdras*, and *Sanharas* then found to exist? Was a diverse creation,—from the head, arms, thighs, and feet of the godhead respectively,—then ascribed to the first four of these classes? Had they a monopoly of their occupations and privileges, founded on creation, birth, or descent? Could there be no interchange of classes among them? Were their respective duties prescribed to them by alleged special divine regulations? Did legislative impediments, with religious sanctions, exist as to their intercommunion and marriage? Did ceremonial defilement follow the accidental or deliberate touch of any classes of people with whom they came in contact? Were there any practices, or pretensions, of parties among them which had the tendency to originate Caste?

The following observations, which are merely an expansion of what we have said on this subject in a late

small publication, will assist us in answering these inquiries.

(1.) The position and authority of the Aryan priesthood as presented to our view in the Chhandas portions of the Védas have comparatively speaking, but a very limited advancement and development. The word *Bráhma*n does not appear in the Hymns as a fully established generic designation of a priest, or of a party belonging to an established priesthood. It thus originated. The word *brahma* (from the root *brih* (or *vrih*) to utter, to speak, to make a noise,) means prayer; and it is applied,—as in several instances now quoted in connexion with the Áryas and Dasyus,—to the ceremonial prayers of the Áryas, neglected or opposed by the Dasyus.* In consequence, the word *Bráhma*n or *Brahmá* in the masculine, came to mean the utterer, or conductor of prayer.† The Bráhmans, it cannot be doubted, are represented in the Védas merely as a profession, and not as a caste. Not a word is said in these writings about their origin as diverse from that of other members of the human family. They ask no privileges on account of original dignity or status. They are in the Védas principally a class of priests, officiating at sacrifices and other religious services, along with other specified classes of priests. The following are instances of the ways in which they are there brought to notice. “The chanters chant thee, Shatakratu [a name of Indra], the reciters of the Richas

* Thus we have, above, the Bráhma (the repeater of the *brahma* or word), p. 94; the hater of the *brahma* (or word), p. 95; “mad against the *brahma*” (against the usage of the word), p. 95, etc.

† See article by Dr. R. Roth on Brahma and the Bráhmans in Z. D. M. G., vol. i. pp. 66-86, and the Abstract of that article published in the Benares Magazine (Oct. 1851), by Dr. J. Muir.

praise thee, who are worthy of praise; the BRAHMANAS raise thee aloft like a bamboo pole.* “Thine, Agni, is the office of the *Hotri*, of the *Potri*, of the *Ritvij*, of the *Néshtri*; thou art the *Agnídhra* of the devout, thine is the function of the *Prashastri*; thou art the *Adhvaryu* and the BRAHMA’; and the householder in our dwelling.”† Here are eight kinds of priests mentioned, of whom the Brahmaná or Bráhmaṇa is the last. Even in the highest sense of the Védas the word *Brahman* is used merely in a simple official sense, and applied to an active class in the community, as when the *Brahman* is mentioned along with the *Rájanya*, or prince.‡ It was in times later than those of the oldest portions of the Védas that the word Brahmaná or Bráhmaṇa came to be used in the exclusive sense of god-born priest. * It is not difficult, indeed, as will be afterwards seen, to trace the progress of the Bráhmaṇ from his Védic profession to his subsequent position as maintained by Casté. From his peculiar position at sacrifices, he was often their conductor,—the *purohita*, or foreman,—for this is the literal meaning of the word. This honour he shared only with others in the first instance, many of whom, as Vishvámitra and his school, belonged to the royal race. Agni, the god of fire, the devourer, or re-

* See Text in Müller's Rig-Véda, vol. i. p. 127. Professor Wilson (Rig-Véda, vol. i, p. 24) reads Bráhmaṇas. In the original here, the word is Brahmanáh, the plural of Brahmaná.

† Wilson's Rig-Véda, vol. ii. p. 209, with the change of Brahmaná for its equivalent Bráhmaṇ, as in the text (Müller, vol. ii. p. 416). According to some authorities, altogether sixteen kinds of priests shared in the offerings on great occasions. See note in Wilson, ut sup., where the authorities are quoted and illustrated.

‡ Rig-Véda, i. 7. 27.

ceiver of sacrifices, was the *purohita* of the gods in the sky* ; and it was meritorious for kings to have a *Brahmá* or *Brahmana* as his correspondent on earth. The office of the Purohita and Brahmá gradually became hereditary ; and the Brahmá, as attached to the houses of the great, became of growing consequence, especially in connexion with the anointing of kings and their horse-sacrifices, on which they counted much for conquest and progeny. His study and learning gradually increased his influence ; and he was constituted an adviser and counsellor. His supposed peculiar access to the gods gave him a peculiar sanctity. He became a legislator ; and in this capacity he soon made himself a god-upon-earth. Such an exaltation of a human mediator has often, to a certain extent, been witnessed in other countries besides India.

(2.) The writers of the Védas, who are denominated *Rishis*, or seers or inditers, and who were doubtless in a religious point of view the highest parties in the Aryan community,† call for support and countenance on account of their occupation and doings, without reference to any order in society enjoyed by them.‡ Though

* Rig-Véda i. 1. 1. et in mult. loc.

† The phrase, “ As the Rishi among the Vipras ” (rendered, in the genitive plural, by मेधाविना “ the intelligent,” by the commentator Mádhaváchárya) occurs in the Sâma Veda. Author’s MS. of Mádhava’s commentary, part 2nd., fol. 38. Vipra is now a synonym of Bráhman. It is rendered by मेधावी, “ intelligent,” in the commentary on the Rig by Sáyaṇa.

‡ “ For the donors of (pious) gifts,” they sung, “ the suns shine in heaven ” (Wilson’s R. V. ii. 17) ; “ the givers of pious donations attain immortality ; the givers of (pious) gifts prolong their (worldly) existence.” They blamed some chiefs for annoying them, without claiming any established status (ib. iii. 6).

these occupations may have been in some cases hereditary, in consequence of the establishment of schools or classes for committing the A'ryan Hymns to memory, they were not confined to one class of the Indian people. They were at least from both the kingly and the priestly classes of the population. Vishvámitra, to whom many of the Hymns of the Védas are ascribed,* and who in the Vishnu Purána,—one of the most important legendary and traditional treatises of the Hindus,—is represented as one of the seven original Rishis of the present system of things,† was, as is admitted by all kinds of Hindu authorities, originally a *Rajarshi*, or a rishi from the *rájás*, though said to be elevated to the *Brahmarshi*, or Bráhmaṇ grade of rishis, for his talents, acquirements, and observances. Jamadagni, who is mentioned also in the Veda as a Rishi,‡—and who, in the later Hindu legends, is

* E. g., Rig-Veda, Müller, ii. p. 932, et. seq.

† Vasishtha, Kashyapa, Atri, Jamadagni, Gautama, Vishvámitra, and Bharadvāja are the seven Rishis, according to Wilson's Vishnu Purána, p. 264. Other lists of the great rishis, are given with variations in Manu, and the Puráṇas, etc. For the age of the Puráṇas,—which are all posterior to the revival of Bráhmaṇism after the destruction of Buddhism,—see Appendix to the Notes of Colonel Sykes on Ancient India.

‡ “Vishvámitra is a remarkable person in the traditions of the Hindu religion: according to the historical and *Pauráṇik* authorities, he was originally a member of the *Kshatriya*, or royal and military caste, and himself for some time a monarch: he was descended from *Kushu*, of the lunar race, and was the ancestor of many royal and saintly personages, who, with himself were called after their common ancestor, *Kushikas* or *Kaushikas*: by the force of his austerities [sic scribunt Brachmanes], he compelled Brahmá to admit him into

the father of the reputed Avatára Parashuráma, is represented as the nephew of Vishvámitra. From both Vishvámitra and Jamadagni, numerous tribes of Bráhmans of mixed blood, according to the legends, claim descent. Many of the Védic hymns are by authors said to be either of the princely class, or to have been raised from it to the priestly class.*

the *Brahmanical* order, into which he sought admission in order to be placed upon a level with Vasishtha, with whom he had quarelled : his descent, and the circumstances of his dispute with Vasishtha, are told, with some variation, in the *Rámáyana*, (ch. li.—lxv. Schlegel's edition,) in the *Máhabhárata*, *Váyu*, *Vishnu*, and *Bhágavata* and other Puráṇas : the details of the *Rámáyana* are most ample : the texts of the *Rig-Véda* intimate a general conformity with those of the *Puráṇas* as to the family designation of *Vishvámitra*, and to occasional disagreements from Vasishtha, originating, apparently, in their respective patronage of hostile princes : according, however, to the heroic poems, the *Puráṇas*, and various poems, and plays, these two saints were on very amicable terms in their relations to the royal family of *Ayodhyá*, or to king *Dasharatha*, and his son *Ráma*." Wilson's *Rig-Véda*, ii, pp. 318-319. Neither the chronology nor the geography of the authorities last mentioned is of much consequence in reference to the Rishis, who are handed about by the traditionists *ad libitum*, both in reference to time and place.

* Mr. Colebrooke, (As. Trans. vol. viii. p. 393,) long ago, noticed the authorship of certain hymns of the *Rig-Véda* as belonging to royal authors, such as Mándhatri, son of Yuvanáshva; Shivi, son of Ushínara; Vasumanas, son of Rohidáshva; and Pratardana, son of Divodása. Other hymns of the same *Véda* are attributed to several of the sons of Vishvámitra as Madhuchhanda, Rishabha, and Rénu; to Ambarisha; to Bharata, the father of Devashrava; to Medhátithi; to Nábhaga; to Rahugana; to Vatsapriya, the son of Bhálandana; to Parúruva, of the Lunar race of kings; to Vena; to Sudása; to Gritsamada, the son of Shunahotra, but who afterwards became the son of Shunaka; to Devápi and Shantanu; and to other princely authors. Several of the hymns of the last Ashtak of the *Rig-Véda* are by

(3.) The R̥ishis and priests received in marriage the daughters of other classes of the community. The Brāhmanas of the present day are well aware of this fact; but, in deference to their later 'Shāstras, they maintain that such marriages were mere indulgences, and confined to the assumption of one wife of each of the higher classes, in addition to those of Brāhmanical rank. But what will they make of the following story, related in the Nīti-Manjarī, of Kakshivat, the author of several Sūktas in the R̥ig-Veda, whose mother, Ushik,—it is to be noted,—was the reputed daughter of king Anga's slave? "Kakshivat having finished his course of study, and taken leave of his preceptor, was journeying homeward, when night came on, and he fell asleep by the road-side: early in the morning Rājā Svanaya, the son of Bhāvayavya, attended by his retinue, came to

Kavasha Ailusha, said to be the son of a *Dāsa*, as noticed by Dr. Müller (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 58). A few of the hymns of the R̥ig-Veda are even ascribed to females, real or imaginary, as Shachi, the daughter of Pulomana; Shraddhā, the daughter of Kāma; Goriviti, the daughter of Sakti; and Vāk, the daughter of Abhrina.

On various *gotras*, or families, of Brāhmanas mixed with, or derived from, the regal blood, see legendary notices in Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 369, 405, 448, 457, 454, etc.

{ Dr. John Muir, in his "Original Sanskrit Texts," vol. i. pp. 44-56, has given a series of "passages sufficient to prove that according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India, (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossessions,) Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock." Some of the cases referred to by Dr. Muir are the same as those of the parties mentioned in the first paragraph of this note.} The historical inference ought not to be pressed beyond the bounds indicated by Dr. M.

the spot, and disturbed the Bráhmaṇ's slumbers : upon his starting up the Rájá accosted him with great cordiality, and being struck by his personal appearance, determined, if he was of suitable rank and birth, to give him his daughters in marriage. After ascertaining his fitness, he took Kakshívat home with him, and there married him to his ten daughters, presenting him at the same time with a hundred nishkas of gold, a hundred horses, a hundred bulls, one thousand and sixty cows, and eleven chariots, one for each of his wives and one for himself, each drawn by four horses." Kakshívat himself, in the Véda, thus celebrates the liberality of his father-in-law :—" From which generous prince soliciting (my acceptance) I, Kakshívat, unhesitatingly accepted a hundred nishkas, a hundred vigorous steeds, and a hundred bulls, whereby he has spread his imperishable fame through heaven. Ten chariots drawn by bay steeds, and carrying my wives, stood near me given by Svanaya ; and a thousand and sixty cows followed. Forty bay horses (harnessed) to the chariots, lead the procession in front of a thousand followers. The Pajras, the kinsmen of Kakshívat, rub down the high-spirited steeds, decorated with golden trappings."* It does not appear that Kakshívat had any wives of his own class. The supply which he had from the chief was more than sufficient. Other instances of Rishis and priests marrying the daughters of kings are often alluded to.†

* Wilson's Rig-Véda, vol. ii. p. 14, 17-18.

† As those of Chyavana with Sukanya, the daughter of Sharyáti, (Wilson's R. V. 1. 139, etc.) and Jamadagni with Renuká, the daughter of Renu.

(4.) The term *Kshatriya*, applied by the *Shástras*, or Law Books, to the second or warrior class in the Hindu community, is used in the *Védas* only as a denominative of a party possessed of *kshatra*, or power. In this sense it is applied to the gods, as to Indra and Varuṇa, and Mitra and Varuṇa.* In the *Védas*, the word *Kshetrapati*, the “owner of a field,” is the name of a person possessed of landed property; and the name *Kshatrapati*, “the possessor of power,” seems to have been applicable to any party exercising authority of any kind or extent. *Kshatriya* is the equivalent of *Kshatrapati*. *Kshatra* corresponds, as noticed by Lassen, with the Zend *kshatra*, which also means imperium, agreeing with the Greek *κράτος* and etymologically referring to the attribute of bodily strength. Synonyms of *Kshatriya* were *Vishvaspati* or *Vishámpati*, a master of the people or village community; *Raj*, the equivalent of the Latin *Rex*, a king; and *Rājanya*, a prince, the derivative of *Raj*. The kings and chiefs of the *Āryas* are often praised by the *Rishis* in the *Védas*; but not a word is there uttered about their emanation by birth from the arms of the Godhead. It is a great fact, as noticed by Professor Wilson and others, that “There are [in the *Védas*] indications of *Rājás* hostile to

* Even Sáyana (Müller's R. V. iii. p. 498) views it, as applied to the last mentioned gods, as the equivalent of *dhana*, wealth, and *bala*, power. In the R. V. iii. 7. 17, Trasadasya, a royal sage who identifies himself with the gods in the fanaticism of his devotion, says, मम इति राष्ट्र क्षत्रियस्य विश्वायैर्विश्वे अमृता यथा नः “I have a twofold sovereignty, that of all the *kshatriya* (power), and all the immortals are ours.” Prof. Wilson gives “race” as the supplied word, but this seemingly on the authority of Sáyana.

the ritual who would not therefore have belonged to the recognized military order.”* The *Rājanyas*, as we have just seen, were sometimes Rishis or seers. Even in the times of the ritual Bráhmaṇas, to be afterwards noticed, they had the privilege of conducting sacrifices

(5.) In the time of the Védas, *visha* (related to *vésha*, a house or district †) generally meant people in general‡; and *Vaishya*, its adjective, was afterwards applied to a householder or to what belonged to an individual of the common people. The Latin *vicus* and the Greek *ὄκος* are the correspondents of *vésha*.|| *Visha*, if applied, sometimes, to the pastoral, the agricultural, and the other industrial classes of the community, had reference only to their immediate occupations, without giving them any monopoly of these occupations. In an address to the Ashvins in the Rig-Véda from which we have already quoted a text, we find the general interests of the community, of the worshipper, or of the institutor of the sacrifice, thus referred to—“Favour the prayer (*brahma*), favour the service; kill the Rakshasas, drive away the

* Preface to vol. ii. of Rig-Véda, p. xv.

† It has this meaning in Zand also.

‡ In Rig-Véda, iii. 1. 9, Agni is spoken of as the preceeder of *vishám manushinám*, human beings. In iii. 8. 18, he is called *vishám vishpatí*, the lord of men.

|| *Visha* was pointed out by Kuhn and Lassen as having this relationship. It occurs in the names of many of our own towns, as *Greenwich*, *Woolwich*, etc., as indicated by Dr. Müller. As noticed by the antiquarian historians now mentioned, it has been preserved in the Lithuanish *višpatis*, lord of the manor. *Pati* is recognizable in the Greek *δαίμων*. *Dama*, corresponding with the Latin *domus*, is used in Sanskrit for a single house or home.

evil ;favour the power (*khatra*) and favour the manly-strength ;favour the cow (*dhenu*, the representative of property) ; and favour the people (or house, *visha*).”*

* This passage, which occurs in the Rig-Véda, 6th. asht. 3rd. adh. 16th. varg., is a very important one. The text, omitting repetitive clauses, runs thus :—ब्रह्म जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं भियो हतं रक्षीसि सेधतममीवाः . . . क्षत्रं जिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं नृन्हतं . . . धेनूजिन्वतमुत जिन्वतं विशोह. (M. S. Rig-Véda, of B. B. Royal Asiatic Society.) In the Pada, the words are separated thus ब्रह्म । जिन्वतं । उत । जिन्वतं । भियः । हतं । रक्षीसि । सेधतं । अमीवाः । . . . नृन्० धेनूः । विशः ।, the word जिन्वतं being to be supplied after each of the last three words, according to the system of notation used. (Author's MS. of Pada of R. V.) Sáyana Achárya, the commentator, under the caste feeling of later times, identifies *brahma* (prayer) with *Bráhmaṇa* (the man-that-prays, and *kshatra* (power) with *Kshatriya*, the party-exercising-power, and *dhenū*, the cow, and *visha*, the people, with the *Vaishya*, the party-belonging-to-the-people. This interpretation is not to be wondered at ; but it is without early sanction. The *mantra* referred to is a favourite one with the Bráhmāns; and, both as in the Rig-Véda and as in an expanded form, it is much used in their more solemn and secret services, and this in such a way as to show that originally it dealt with interests and not with castes. It occurs in this enlarged form at the commencement of the Taittiriya Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda :—ब्रह्म सन्धत्तं तन्मे जिन्वतं । क्षत्रं सन्धत्तं तन्मे जिन्वतं । इष्टं सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं । ऊर्जं सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं । रयिं सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं । पुष्टिं सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं । प्रजां सन्धत्तं तां मे जिन्वतं । पशून् सन्धत्तं तन्मे जिन्वतं. (Author's MS.) This may be thus translated :—“ Maintain the *prayer*, make-it-prosperous to me ; maintain the *power*, make-it-prosperous to me ; maintain the *food*, make-it-prosperous to me ; maintain the *milk*, make-it-prosperous to me ; maintain the *wealth*, make-it-prosperous to me ; maintain the *offspring*, make-it-prosperous to me ; maintain the *herd*, make-it-prosperous to me.” Sáyana, in his commentary on this passage, identifies *brahma* with the Bráhmaṇ caste, engaged for the institutor-of-the-sacrifice. *Khatra*, he makes the authority-of-the-head-of-a-district. But the other terms used he

Interests here occupy the ground which in later times belonged to particular castes. The unity of the whole immigrant race continued marked by the patronymic name *Arya*, to which we have often referred. The *Vaishyas*, in the times of the *Pándavas* of the great War, according to the *Mahábhárata*, had considerable influence in affairs of state, as exemplified in the cases of the wise *Vidur* and *Yuyutsu*. It was only by degrees, and after the *Aryas* had been settled in the great plains of India, that the *Vaishyas* got *special* charge of flocks and herds, and agriculture, and merchandise assigned to them, as in the days of *Manu*; for the time was, when a cowkeeper (*gopa*, *gopála*, *gosvámi**) was a chieftain in their community.

(6.) The *Shúdras*, though treated by *Manu* and Hindu legislation in general, as a component (though enslaved) part of the Indian community, not entitled to the second or sacramental birth, are not even once mentioned in the olden parts of the *Védas*. They are first locally brought to notice, in the *Mahábhárata*, along with the *Abhíras*, dwelling on the banks of the *Indus*.† The *Abhíras*, are recognized as in that position by *Ptolemy*, who denominates the district in which they were found *Abiria*;‡

does not venture to apply to any other alleged castes. In the third mantra of the *Taittiriya Bráhmaṇa*, the vital-breath, sight, hearing, mind, speech, etc., are coupled with the supplicatory verbs, in the same way as *brahma*, and *kshatra*, evidently showing that matters pertaining to the institution of the sacrifice are referred to throughout.

* This last word is still used as the equivalent of Master. It is particularly applied to classes of religionists.

† *Mahábhárata*, *Bhishma Parva*, 305 (Cal. ed. ii. p. 344.)

‡ *Ptol. Geo. lib. vii. p. 102. edit. Bert.*

and their representatives are still seen* in the *A'hirs*, a class of shepherds and cultivators in Sindh, Kachh, and Káthiáwád. There are distinct classical notices of the Shúdras in this very locality and its neighbourhood. "In historical times," says Lassen, "their name reappears in that of the town Συδροϋς on the lower Indus, and, what is especially worthy of notice, in that of the people Συδροι among the northern Arachosians.* Thus their existence as a distinct nation is established in the neighbourhood of the Indus, that is to say, in the region in which, in the oldest time, the Aryan Indians dwelt. They [the Aryans] probably conquered these earlier inhabitants; and it becomes manifest from this circumstance, that it was from the conquest of the other Aborigines in the interior part of the country, that afterwards, the name [Shúdra] was extended to the whole servile caste. This name cannot be derived from the Sanskrit; and it is to be presumed that the right spelling should be *Súdra*†. If this be correct, it must be sounded *Húdra* in old Persian; and this is confirmed by the statement of Megasthenes, that the Indian nations of the Ὑδράκαι sent auxiliaries to the Persians before the time of Alexander.‡

* Ptol. vii. 1. 61. vi. 20. 3. They are also mentioned by Dionys. Perieg. v. 1142, under the name Σκίδροι, in which passage other mistakes occur, as, e. g., for τῶν δὲ μίσοι ναιουσὶ Σάβαι καὶ Τάξιλοι ἄνδρες, Σκίδροι δ' ἐξίσι. ἐπὶ δ' ἔπεται ἀρχὴν φύλα Πευκανέων, μετὰ τοὺς δὲ Διονύσιον θεράποντες Ταρσαγίδαι ναιουσιν. κ. τ. λ. must be read, Σίβαι, Ταξιλοι, or, according to the variant reading, Σκίδροι, Σίδροι, and Γανδαγίδαι.

† [Yet, the Bráhmans connect the word *Shúdra*, with *Shushrushá*, service, though they get no real etymological help from this coincidence.]

‡ Strabo xv. 1 6. p. 687. By Steph. Byz. Ὑδράκαι. They are distinct from the Οξυδράκαι, called in Sanskrit *Kshudraka*. Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. p. 799-800.

The extension of the name Shúdra to the enslaved and servile classes of the country conquered by the Aryas, in contradistinction to the more independent and more cordially hated tribes, such as the Chándálas, Ambashthas, etc., etc., must have occurred gradually. Some of the Shúdras, and some of the more independent tribes in the interior land, I am inclined, with others, to think, may have spoken a dialect not very dissimilar to that of the A'ryas, and may have been the descendants of a prior Aryan immigration.* There seems to have been some hesitation in the Aryan community about the actual religious position to be given to the Shúdras. In the time of the liturgical Bráhmaṇas of the Védas to be afterwards noticed, they were sometimes admitted to take part in the Aryan sacrifices.† Not long afterwards, when the conquests of the Aryans were greatly

* Many of the names of the Dasyus and other enemies of the A'ryas seem to have an Aryan meaning. There are many words current in the northern family of Indian languages which appear to be more cognate with the Sanskrit than immediately derived from it. This remark is not intended to oppose the belief, also confirmed by the state of the Indian languages, that most of the tribes which entered India before the A'ryas must have been of Scythian or Turanian origin. Of the Scythian immigrations, two at least, of extensive character, are marked by the differences in the Scythian words of the northern and southern families of languages.

† Roth, in *Zeitschrift of the Germ. Or. Soc.* vol. i. p. 83, and Weber's translation of the First Adhyāya of the Shatapatha-Bráhmaṇa, also in that Journal. In this Bráhmaṇa there occurs a remarkable passage respecting the call of the sacrificers, to this effect :—" If the sacrificer be a Bráhman, it is said, *Ehi* Come ! if he is a Vaishya, then it is *Agahi*, Come hither ! with a Rajabandhu [a transposition of the Vaishya and Rajanya having occurred] it is *Adrava*, Run hither ! with a Shúdra it is *Adrava*, Run hither !"

extended, and they formed a settled state of society among the affluents of the Yamuná and Ganges, they were degraded to the humiliating and painful position which they occupy in Manu.* There is no mention of any *Sankara*, or Mixed, Castes in the Védas.

(7.) In the time of the Chhandas of the Védas, the idea of the god *Brahmá*, from whose head and arms and thighs and feet the four original castes of the Hindus are held to have been derived, was neither developed nor formed. *Brahmá*, as a member of the Hindu Triad, and as the parent of the races of man, is no god whatever of the Védas. *Brahma*, in the neuter gender, in the Vedic language, as already mentioned, means prayer; and *Brahmá*, in the masculine, means "he-of-prayer." *Agni*, the god of fire and sacrifice, is the *Erahmá*, the god of prayer, and the *Vrihaspati*, *Brihaspati*, or *Brahmanaspati*, the lord of prayer, throughout the Ríg-Véda.† Though he is called *Vishpati*, *Vishámpati*, and *Manasaspati*, the lord of men; *Vaishvánara*, the sovereign of all beings; and *Játavedhas* and *Vedhas Sháshvata*, the inspector of men and the constant inspector, as practically useful to man in his person and social life, and as the constant consumer of sacrifice and offerings, he is also spoken of as "the Son of Heaven and Earth," as well as their parent, and was both a derivative god and a Creator, when the early Suktas were composed.‡ A desire to have a separate god for prayer, besides the gods of material nature and energy the ancient deities of the Védas, begins

* See above, pp. 46-50.

† Dr. Roth thinks that all the *pati* gods are the result of reflection and of later invention.

‡ Ríg-Véda, 3rd. Asht. 1st. adh. s. 19.

to be apparent in these writings as they advance ; and for this god, Agni, in his function of Brahmá, was selected. The Bráhmáns ultimately recognized Brahmá as a distinctive metaphysical god, and introduced him to public notice ; but, however much they themselves contemplated him, they did not succeed in thoroughly establishing his worship among the Indian people. It is well known that there is only a single temple dedicated to his honour in the whole of India.* To account for his unpopularity, it is feigned, in the later Shástras, that he is labouring under a curse from the god Shiva, who even went so far as to cut off one of his heads for his immorality !† *Brahma* (the divine thing *Brahma* or Soul) is an invention of the ideal Vedánta, a system of Pantheism long posterior to the Védas, and really designed to supersede them under the assumed name of the “ Aim ” or “ End ” of the Védas.‡

(8.) The doctrine, or incident, or system, of ceremonial defilement by touch, or by eating or drinking,—by which the existence of Caste is particularly marked in the present social and religious life of the Hindus,—is not recognized in the Védas in a single instance. It is impossible that it

* This is at the Pokhar (*Pushkara*) lake near Ajmér. Tod's *Rájásthán*, vol. i. p. 774. Even this temple, I found when visiting it, to be under the care of devotees, and not that of the regular priesthood.

† Author's First Exposure of Hinduism, p. 42. In the 3rd asht. 8th adh. and 10th varg. of the Ríg-Véda, Agni is spoken of as having चत्वारि शृंगा four horns. These Sáyaṇa erroneously makes the four Védas, the collection of which did not exist when the Suktas were composed, and Mahidhara, the four officiating priests (the Hotri, Udgátri, Adhvaryu, and Brahmá) ; but M. Langlois, with much probability, makes them the four sides of Agni's eastern fire-pit, in which the myth of Brahmá's four faces may have originated.

‡ This is the etymological meaning of *Vedánta*, from *Veda* and *anta*.

should not, in some form or other, have been alluded to in these productions, had it existed when they were formed.

Caste, in the sense in which it exists in the present day, we are more and more persuaded, was altogether unknown among the ancient A'ryas, though doubtless, like other consociated peoples, they had varieties of rank and order and occupation in their community. A *Panchakshiti*, and *panchajana* (pentad) are occasionally mentioned in the Védas*. Sáyana A'ch'arya says these expressions refer to the four *varṇas* (colours or castes) and the Nishádas treated as outcasts, or to the Gandharvas, Pitris, Dévas, Asuras, and Rákshasas, as explained in the Nirukta. But Professor Lassen properly observes that neither of these explanations is admissible,† *Kshiti*, as he remarks, is applied in the Véda to men in general and *charṣhani*, its synonym, is derived from *riṣh* to plow. The *Nishádas* (etymologically the "settled" Aborigines, but applied to races distinct from the Aryan) were then unknown. Even when they came into notice, they remained exterior to the Aryan state. *Jana* signifies a person; *panchajani*, in times later than the Véda, an assembly of five men; and *panchajanína*, a chief of five men. "It is probable," Lassen adds, "that the oldest social communities consisted only of five families." That *Panchakshiti* and *panchajana* signify an aggregate of five men, is evident; but what the members of the aggregation were, it is now almost impossible to declare with certainty. Megasthenes speaks of various municipal and military Pentads as existing among the Indians in his day.‡ Many aggregations of five per-

* R. V. iv. 2. 5.

† Indische Altherthumskunde, vol. i. p. 796.

‡ Megasthenes in Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 220, et. seq.

sons or parties are at present recognized by the Hindus.*

In virtue of the remarks which we have now made, and proofs and illustrations which we have now brought forward, we hold that Caste in the ancient Védic times was no systematic institution of the A'ryas. The opinion of Dr. Max Müller, the editor of the *Rig-Véda* and the most competent judge in the case, is entirely in accordance with that which we have ventured to express. In a Review of Muir's Texts in the *London Times*, he has the following passage :—"Does Caste, as we find it in *Manu* and at the present day, form part of the religious teaching of the Védas? We answer with a decided 'No.' There is no authority whatever in the Védas for the complicated system of castes, no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Bráhmans; no authority for the degraded position of the Shúdras. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together; from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. All that is found in the Védas, at least in the most ancient portion of it—the Hymns—is a verse, in which it is said that the four castes, the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the serf, sprung all alike from *Brahmá*. Europeans are able to show that even this verse is of later origin than the great mass of the Hymns."†

* See Molesworth's *Maráthí Dictionary* under the compound, of पंच. The *A'rya varṇa* (or colour) is spoken of as a unity in *Rig-Véda*, 3rd asht. 2. 5. 9.

† The *Times*, 10th April 1858.

The verse here referred to by Dr. Müller was first brought to notice by Colebrooke. It occurs in the *Purusha Sūkta*, or Hymn of the 'Primeval Male, translated by him in his Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus.* It has been quoted and translated by Burnouf, in his introduction to his translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*†; and lately it has been literally and correctly rendered by Dr. John Muir, whose version we here introduce, with the text subjoined, that a proper estimate of its bearings on the subject immediately before us may be formed.

"Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. Everywhere pervading the earth, he overpassed a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha alone is this whole [universe], which has been, and is to be. He is the lord of immortality, that which expands by nutriment. (?) 3. So great is his glory; and Purusha is greater than this. All creatures make a fourth of him; three-fourths of him (are) immortality in the sky. 4. Purusha with these three parts mounted upwards; a fourth of him was again produced here. He then diffused himself everywhere among things animate and inanimate. 5. From him sprang Virāj; over Virāj was Purusha: being born he extended himself, and (produced) the earth and corporeal forms. 6. When the gods offered up Purusha in sacrifice, the spring was its clarified butter, summer its wood, and autumn the offering. 7. This victim, Purusha, born primevally, they immolated on the sacrificial grass; with him as their oblation the gods, Sādhyas, and Rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal oblation were produced curds and clarified butter. He produced the animals of which Vāyu is the deity, both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice were produced hymns called *rich* and *sāman*, the metres and *yajus*. 10. From that were produced horses and all animals with two rows of teeth, cows, goats, and sheep. 11. When they formed (or offered up) Purusha into how many parts did they divide him? What was his mouth?

* Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. p. 251 and *Mis. Essays* 1 p. 167-8.

† Burnouf's *B. P.* i. cxxiii.

What were his arms? What were called his thighs and feet? 12. The *Bráhma*n was his mouth; the *Rájanya* was made his arms; that which was the *Vaishya* was his thighs; the *Shúdra* sprang from his feet. 13. The moon was produced from his mind (*Manas*); the sun from his eye; Indra and Agni from his mouth; and Váyu from his breath. 14. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head the sky; from his feet the earth, from his ear the four quarters: so they formed the worlds. 15. *When the gods in performing their sacrifice bound Purusha as their victim, there were seven trenches (round the altar), and there were made thrice seven pieces of fuel. 16. With sacrifice the Gods worshipped the sacrifice: these were the first rites. 'These great beings attained to the heaven where the gods, the ancient yas, reside.'*

सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रान् । स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वा उप्यतिष्ठद्दशांगुलं ॥
॥१॥ पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद् भूतं यच्च भव्यं । उतामृतं स्व्ये शानो यदन्नेनातिरोहति ॥२॥
एतावान् अस्य महिमा उतो व्याप्य पुरुषः । पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि ॥
॥ ३ ॥ त्रिपाद् ऊर्ध्वं उदेत् पुरुषः पादोऽस्येहा भवत्युनः ततो विश्वङ व्यक्रामत् साशनान-
शने अभि ॥ ४ ॥ तस्माद् विराज्जायत विराजो अभि पुरुषः । स ज्ञातो अत्यरिच्यत
पश्चात् भूमिं मथो पुरः ॥ ५ ॥ यत् पुरुषेण हविषा देवायज्ञमतन्वत । वसन्तो अस्यासीद्
आव्यं प्रीष्म इभ्यः शरद् हविः ॥ ६ ॥ तं यज्ञं वहिषि प्रीक्षन् पुरुषं जात मग्रतः । तेन देवा
अयजन्त साध्या ऋषयश्च ॥ ७ ॥ तस्मात् यज्ञात् सर्वहुतः संभूतं पृषदाभ्यं । पशूं
स्ताक्ष्रे वायव्यान् आरण्यान् ग्राम्याश्च ॥ ८ ॥ तस्मात् यज्ञात् सर्वहुत ऋचः सामानि
जज्ञिरे* । छंदोसि जज्ञिरे तस्मात् यजुस्तस्मादजायत ॥ ९ ॥ तस्मादश्वा अजायन्त येके
चो भयादतः । गावोह जज्ञिरे तस्मात् तस्माज्जाता अजावयः ॥ १० ॥ यत्पुरुषं व्यदधुः
कतिधा व्यकल्पयन् । मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू काऊरू पादा उच्येते ॥ ११ ॥ ब्राह्मणोऽस्य*
मुखमासीत् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ऊरू तदस्य यद् वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥ १२ ॥
चंद्रमामनसो जातश्चक्षोः सूर्यो अजायत । सुखाद् इंद्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद् वायुरजायत ॥ १३ ॥
नाभ्या मासीद् अंतरिक्षं शीर्ष्णो द्यौः समवर्तन् । पद्भ्यां भूमिर्दिशश्चोत्रात् तथालोकानक-
ल्पयन् ॥ १४ ॥ सप्तास्यासन् परिभयः स्तिः सप्त सभिः कृताः । देवायद् यज्ञं
तन्वाना अवधन् पुरुषं पशूं ॥ १५ ॥ यज्ञेन यज्ञ मजयन्त देवास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमा-
न्यासन् । तेहिनाकं महिमानः सचन्त यत्र पूर्वे साध्याः संति देवाः ॥ १६ ॥

* The text we take from the MS. of the B. B. R. A. S., which on comparison we find, except in two letters, agrees with that of Burzouf, which was made from the same original copy, that of Colonel Shortrede.

Dr. Müller has lately well illustrated his own remark, that European critics are able to show that this passage of the Védas is of "later origin" than the great mass of the hymns." In his History of Sanskrit Literature he thus writes respecting it :—"There can be little doubt that it is modern both in its character and in its diction. It is full of allusions to the sacrificial ceremonials, it uses technical philosophical terms, it mentions the three seasons in the order of Vasanta, spring, Gríshma, summer, and Sharad, autumn, it contains the only passage in the Rig-Véda where the four castes are enumerated. The evidence of language for the modern date of this composition is equally strong. Gríshma, for instance, the name of the hot season, does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-Véda ; and Vasanta also, the name of spring, does not belong to the earliest vocabulary of the Védic poets. It occurs but once more in the Rig-Véda (mand. 161.4.)" Dr. Müller brings down this hymn to the time of making the final collection of the Rig-Véda Sanhitá, "the work of the Mantra period," to which he gives the date of 1000-800 before Christ. He does not carry it lower, because of allusions to it in the Bráhmaṇas, and because it has found a place in the collections of the Vajáséyins and Atharvans.* That it cannot be carried higher than this is obvious, not only from the considerations above referred to, but from the distinction (recognized by it) in the Védic "hymns called the *Rich*, and *Sáman*, the metres (*Chhandas*), and the *Yajus*," which seems to indicate the existence of an artificial division at the time it originated of the Védic material, at least for conventional sacrificial purposes.

* Müller's Hist. Sans. Lit. p. 572.

In regard to the meaning of the Puruṣa Sūkta we adhere to the judgment which we have elsewhere expressed upon it. “The support which even it gives to the system of caste is of a very limited character. The passage in it which approximates the subject is the following :—‘When they produced Puruṣa [perhaps equivalent to ‘when Puruṣa was produced’] into how many portions did they separate him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were pronounced his thighs and feet? The Bráhmaṇ was his mouth; the Rájanya (prince) was made his arms; the Vaishya was his thighs; and the Shúdra sprang from his feet.’ This occurs in a composition which is both metaphysical and figurative; and it probably expresses an idea originally of this character :—The Bráhmaṇ, as the expositor of the will of God, conceived of as an enormous male, and the recipient of the gifts and offerings made to the divinities, was the mouth of this male; the *Rájanya*, the prince or warrior, the instrument of offence and defence, was the arms of this male; the *Vaishya*, as the cultivator of the soil, and the original possessor of its wealth, was the thighs of this male; and the Shúdra, or slave, as the lowest member of the body social, was the feet of this male. All this is clearly metaphysical and metaphorical, though afterwards it was viewed as historical and dogmatic.”* For the system of caste, it is now obvious, there is no legitimate warrant in the great hymn collection of the Rig-Véda.

* India Three Thousand Years Ago, pp. 44-45.

Dr. Muir, illustrating the Puruṣa Sūkta, properly says : “It is only the Shúdra who is here said to have sprung from the feet of Puruṣa. In a hymn of this allegorical and mystical character, it cannot be assumed that the writer intended to represent it as a

Nor is such countenance of Caste to be found in any of the *olden* portions of the other Védas, which are all taken from what is properly denominated by Dr. Müller the “one genuine collection, the so-called Rîg-Véda, or the Véda of praise.”*

The first of these derivative Védas is the *Sâma*, the whole of whose texts, with few exceptions, as already hinted, have been actually found in the Rîk, especially in the eighth and ninth mandals.† It is not to be expected, consequently, that much light should be cast by it individually on the social state of the ancient A’ryas, even though it should be admitted, as thought by Dr. Müller, that the time of its construction falls within that of the Brâhmanas,—between 800—600 years before Christ. We notice a few things which have struck our attention when going over it in connexion with the subject before us.

The god Brahmâ is distinguished in one place both from Agni, the god of fire, and Vṛihaspati, the lord of prayer.‡ A pre-eminence among the gods is in one other place at least historical fact, that the four different classes sprang from different parts of Puruṣha’s body ; any more than that he desired to assert, as literally true, what he has stated in verses 13 and 14 ; that ‘ the moon was produced from his *mind*, the sun from his *eye*, Indra and Agni from his *mouth*, and Vāyu from his *breath*,’ &c. &c. &c. In fact the Yajur Véda alleges that Vāyu came forth from his *ear* ; and so contradicts the Rîg-Véda.” Texts, i. 10.

* Review in Times, 10th April, 1858.

† As the Sâma does not make quotations from the last hymns of the Rîk, it has been inferred by Weber and others that its pieces had been arranged before the completion of the Rîg-Véda collection ; but Dr. Müller (Anc. Sans. Lit. p. 427.) attributes both its collection and that of the Rîg-Véda to the Brâhmaṇa period. See Muir’s Texts, ii. 203.

‡ Benfey’s Text of Sâma Véda, p. 10.

ascribed to him, no doubt because he is viewed as the lord of sacrifice*. In the passage last referred to, the *Rishi* is mentioned as the marked one among the *Vipras*, or intelligent; while in another the *Vipra* is denominated the instrumentality, or agent, of the sacrifice,† thus intimating that the designation was being applied distinctively to an officiating priest. Several passages in the *Sáma* in which the word *Brahmá*, used as a human conductor of prayer or sacrifice, are taken from the *Rik*, need not be here noticed. The human *Brahmá* is spoken of, in one place, as the master of (holy) seasons, and the *Bráhmans* as praising *Indra* in hymns.† The designation *Brahmá* seems from this to have been about this time coming into use as a generic

* This is in a curious address to the sacred *Soma*, the genius of ardent spirits:—

सोमः पवने जनिता मनीर्ना जनिता दिवो जनिता पृथिव्याः ।
जनिताग्नेर्जनिता सूर्यस्य जनिनेंद्रस्य जनिवो तद्विष्णोः ॥
ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीनामृषिर्विप्राणामहिंशे मृगाणां ।
श्वेनो मृत्राणां सन्निविर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमग्नेनि रेभन् ॥

Sáma Veda, 2nd part, iii. 3, Stevenson's Text p. 77, Benfey's, 84.

Soma is pure, the generator of intellect, the generator of the heavens, the generator of fire, the generator of the sun, the generator of *Indra*, and the generator of the earth, the generator of *Vishnu*—*Somā*, when sound'ing it goes to its holy place, (is) *Brahmá* among the gods, the High-one among the poets, the *Rishi* among the *Vipras*, the hawk among the raptures, the buffalo among horned animals, and the sword among cleavers.

† विप्रो यज्ञस्य साधनः *Sáma*, ii. 6. (Benfey, p. 126.)

‡ एष ब्रह्मा य ऋतिय इन्द्रो नाम श्रुतो गृणे ॥
ब्रह्माण इन्द्रं महयन्तो अर्कं सवर्षयज्ञद्रव्ये हनन्ता उ ॥

Sáma Veda, part 1st, v. 6. 2. Stevenson's Text p. 38, Benfey's, P. 46. Compare *Mádhava's Comment.* sub. loc.

term for a priest. Nothing of a peculiar character occurs in the *Sāma* applying either to the *Rājā* or the *Visha*.

The second of the derivative *Vēdas*, the *Yajus* or *Yajur*, as already mentioned, exists in two forms, the Black and the White.* They are partly in prose and partly in verse, the poetical portion being generally that which is taken from the *Rik*. Exclusive of their texts from the *Rik*, they appear, in their liturgical directions especially, very like the *Brāhmaṇas*, to the era of which, as collections, they belong. They indicate the assumption of *Brāhmani*-cal pre-eminence, but in the face of opposition from certain portions of the Indian community.

In the Black *Yajur Vēda*, the *Brahma*, and *Kshatra* are, (with the *Suprajā* (the good population), and *Rāyaspoṣha* supporting wealth), recognized as distinct interests, in prayers several times used.† The predominance of the *Brāhman* in sacrifice is set forth throughout this collection, at least of the portions of it which have been printed. Social distinctions are recognized in it, as those of the *Brahma*; the *Rājanya*, prince; the *Mahishī*, the wife of an anointed king; the *Parivṛikī*, according to the commentator *Mādhava* “the unloved wife of a king” (concubine?); the *Sénani*, general; the *Sūta*, charioteer; the *Grāmani*, villager; the *Kshatta*, the “guardian of the females; the *Sangrahītā*, the treasurer; the *Bhāgadugha*,

* See above, p. 74. In the text of the White *Yajur Vēda*, ably edited by Dr. Weber of Berlin, there are 4045 lines. Dr. W. gives us also the text of the commentary of *Mahidhara*, the *Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Shrauta Sūtras* of *Kātyāyan*, and Extracts from the Commentaries of *Karka* and *Yajnikadēva*.

† *Taittiriya Sanhitā* of Y. V. i. 3. 1; 1. 9. 6. (Roer and Cowell's ed. vol. i. pp. 415, 492.)

the collector (of the king's portion, said by the commentator to be the sixth part) ; the *Akshāvāpa*, the player at dice.* But these are probably principally designations of parties in public office. The commentator speaks of them as the recognized supporters of the kingdom.† An appropriation of the gods is thus made in recognition of certain orders of the community. “Brihaspati is the god of speech ; Indra, of chiefs ; Mitra, of the truthful ; Varuṇa of the religious” ; and “Soma of us the Bráhmans.”‡ Bráhmans and Kshatriyas are viewed as distinct, in connexion with the colour of the beasts used in a certain sacrifice.§

In the White Yajur Véda the information bearing on our subject is such as the following :—

In this Véda the *Brahma* and *Kshatra* are coupled together in the worship of Agni, and in other connexions as in the Black Yajur Véda.¶ The Bráhman is mentioned as an object of reverence with ancestors and ṛishis,|| Indra (the thunderer) is declared to be the hold and support of the *Kshatra*,** while he is also set forth as the god of the *Kshatra* and the principedom. Soma (so often addressed in sacrifice) is declared to be the god of the *Bráhmans*,†† as in a passage from the Sāma Véda already referred to. The different functions in the community of the Bráhman and Kshatra are thus indirectly recognized. Salutations are given to the *Kshétrapati*, proprietor of fields ; to the *Súta*, bard or chario-

* Taittiriya Sanhitá, i. 8. 9.

¶ S. Y. V. i. 6. 46.

† Roer & Cowell's Ed. vol. ii. p. 105. ** S. Y. V. i. 9. 8.

‡ Taitt. S. of Y. V. ; 8. 10.

†† Shukla Yajur Véda 1. 9. 19.

§ Taittiriya Sanhitá of Y. V. ii. 1. 2.

|| Shukla Yajur-Véda, i. 1. 18 ; i. 5. 26.

teer; to the *Taskarapati*, probably master of a subjugated tribe;* to the *Kullunchapati*, "inhabiting mountainous regions"; to the bearers of bows and arrows; to the *Shrapati*, or master of hounds; to the *Vrátapati*, "the master of a multitude;" to the *Senâ* and *Senâni*, to the army and the leader of the army; to the *Sangrikîta*, treasurer; to the *Takshâ*, carpenter, and *Rathakâra*, the coachmaker; to the *Kulâla*, the potter, and *Karmâra*, the worker in the coarser metals; to the *Nishâda*, aboriginal settler;† and to other parties recognized as classes in the community.‡ The Brahman is spoken of as endowed with the knowledge of Brahma (*brahmanarchasî*) and the Rājanya, as possessed of bravery (*shûra*).§

Even more distinctive notices than these of the varied and numerous classes of Indian society occur in this White Yajur Vêda. They are found in connexion with the most mysterious rite of Hinduism, that of the *Purushamédha*, or sacrifice of Purusha, nominally the god Prajâpati. A whole Adhâya, or section is devoted to them,|| in which the parties are brought forward, or consecrated, as typical representatives of the multitudinous objects recognized in the Purushamédha. A few of these parties are mentioned, also, in the Shatapatha Brâhmaṇa

* In Wilson's Sans. Dict. Taskara is rendered by "thief, robber." Mahîdhara in his commentary on the Shukla Yajur Vêda attaches a similar meaning to the word. Weber's ed. i. p. 497.

† Mahîdhara views the Nishâdas as mountain Bhîllas, eaters of flesh. Weber's Text. i. p. 500. The word Nishâda, as shown by Lassen, means the settled.

‡ Shukla Yajur Vêda, i. 16. 18-26.

§ Shukla Yajur-Vêda, ii. 22. 20. (Weber's ed. p. 703.)

|| Shukla Yajur-Vêda, adh. 30. (Weber's ed. i. p. 841-848.)

of the Yajur Vēda;* and with variations they all occur in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Vēda,† in a passage which, as far as I know, has not yet attracted the attention of Europeans.

The importance of the Adhyāya of the White Yajur-Vēda, now mentioned, in the illustration of ancient Indian society requires its quotation in full.

| | | | | |
|----|---------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | †Brahmaṇi | ... Brahmayam, | ... for the Brahma | ... a Brahman. |
| 2 | Kshatrīya | ... Rājanyam, | ... for the Kshatra, | ... a Prince. |
| 3 | Mayudbhya | ... Vaisheyam, | ... for Tillage, | ... a Vaisheya. |
| 4 | Tapasē | ... Shūdrām, | ... for Toil, | ... a Shūdra |
| 5 | Tapasē | ... Taskaram, | ... for Darkness, | ... a Thief. |
| 6 | Narakāya | ... Virahanam, | ... for Hellishness, | ... a Murderer. |
| 7 | Papmanē | ... Klībam, | ... for Sin, | ... a Eunuch. |
| 8 | A'krayāya | ... Ayogyan, | ... for Distress (?) | ... an Ayogaya. |
| 9 | Kāmāya | ... Pushchalām, | ... for Lust, | ... a Whore. |
| 10 | Atikrughatāya | ... Māgadham, | ... for great-Mourning | a Māgadha. |
| 11 | Nyittaya | ... Sūtam, | ... for Dancing, | ... a Sūta. |
| 12 | Gitāya | ... Shailūsham, | ... for Singing, | ... an Actor. |
| 13 | Dharmāya | ... Sabhicharanam, | ... for Duty (or Reli- gion) | an Attendant-on-the- Synagogue. |
| 14 | Nariṣṭhāyāi | ... Bhīmalam, | ... for Bad-luck. | ... a Frightful person. |
| 15 | Narmāya | ... Rūbham, | ... for Amusement, | ... an Orator. |
| 16 | Hasāya | ... Kārīna, | ... for Laughter, | ... an Artificer. |
| 17 | Anandāya | ... Strishakham, | ... for Joy, | ... a Lover-of-women. |
| 18 | Pramadē | ... Kumāripūtram, | ... for Pleasure, | ... a Son-of-an-unmar- ried-girl |
| 19 | Mādhāyāi | ... Rathakūyam, | ... for Intelligence, | ... a Chariot-maker. |
| 20 | Dhātvyāya | ... Takshūnam, | ... for Firmness, | ... a Carpenter. |
| 21 | Tapasēṣ | ... Kṣudhām, | ... for Labour, | ... a Potter. |
| 22 | Mayāyāi | ... Karmūtram, | ... for Jugglery, | ... a Blacksmith. |
| 23 | Rupāya | ... Manikūram, | ... for Beauty, | ... a Jeweller. |
| 24 | Shubhē | ... Vapam, | ... for Auspiciousness, | a Sorcer. |
| 25 | Sharavyāya | ... Ishukūram, | ... for Shooting, | ... a Maker-of-arrows |
| 26 | Ītāyāi | ... Dhanughakāram, | ... for Armour, | ... a Maker-of-bois. |

* Adhyāya, xiii.

† Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa of the Krishna Yajur-Vēda, iii. fol. 40-42 of Author's MS.

‡ The numbers here given are not in the Vēda.

§ We have had *tapasē* already (in No. 4). The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa has here *Shramēya* meaning also "for labour."

| | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 27 | <i>Karmāṇḍ</i> | ... <i>Jyḍḍkram</i> , | ... for Activity, | ... a <i>Maker-of-bow-strings</i> . |
| 28 | <i>Dishtāya</i> | ... <i>Rajusarjam</i> , | ... for Fortune, | ... a <i>Ropemaker</i> . |
| 29 | <i>Mṛityavē</i> | ... <i>Mṛigayam</i> , | ... for Death, | ... a <i>Huntsman</i> . |
| 30 | <i>Antakāya</i> | ... <i>Svaninam</i> , | ... for the Agent-of-death, | a <i>Dogman</i> . |
| 31 | <i>Nadibhyyah</i> | ... <i>Paunjishtam</i> , | ... for Rivers, | a <i>Punjishta</i> .* |
| 32 | <i>Rikshikābhyo†</i> | <i>Naishādam</i> , | ... for a Watchman, | a <i>Descendant-of-a-Nishāda</i> . |
| 33 | <i>Purushavyd-ghrāya</i> | <i>Durmadam</i> , | for Haughtiness, | a <i>Drunkard</i> . |
| 34 | <i>Gandharvāpsa-robhyo</i> | <i>Vṛātyam</i> , | ... for the Gandharvas and Apsaras, | a <i>Vṛātya</i> . |
| 35 | <i>Prayugbhyyah</i> | ... <i>Unmattam</i> , | ... for the Abstracted, | a <i>Madman</i> . |
| 36 | <i>Sarpadēvajānē-bhyyo</i> | <i>Apratipadam</i> , | ... for Serpents and Devajanas | an <i>Ignorant</i> . |
| 37 | <i>Ayēbhyyah</i> | ... <i>Kitavam</i> , | ... for Luck, | a <i>Dice-player</i> . |
| 38 | <i>Iryatāya</i> | ... <i>Akitavam</i> , | ... for the Departed, | a <i>Non-player-at-dice</i> . |
| 39 | <i>Pishachēbhyyah</i> | ... <i>Bidulakārim</i> , | ... for Pishāchas, | a <i>female-Basket-maker</i> . |
| 40 | <i>Yātudhānēbhyyah</i> | <i>Kantakikārim</i> | ... for the Yātudhānas,† | a <i>Pinnaker</i> . |
| 41 | <i>Sandhayē</i> | ... <i>Jīram</i> , | ... for Junction, | a <i>Paramour</i> . |
| 42 | <i>Gḥaya</i> | ... <i>Upapatim</i> , | ... for the House, | a <i>Concubine</i> . |
| 43 | <i>Artyai</i> | ... <i>Parivittam</i> , | ... for Affliction, | an <i>Unmarried-elder-brother</i> .§ |
| 44 | <i>Nirrityai</i> | ... <i>Parivividdnam</i> , | for Misfortune, | a <i>Married-elder-brother</i> . |
| 45 | <i>Nishkṛityai</i> | ... <i>Pēshaskārim</i> , | ... for Craft, | an <i>Actress</i> . |
| 46 | <i>Samjānāya</i> | ... <i>Smarakārim</i> , | ... for Gesture, | an <i>Amorous-woman</i> . |
| 47 | <i>Prakāmodyāya</i> | ... <i>Upasadam</i> , | ... for Love, | a <i>Companion</i> . |
| 48 | <i>Bakiya</i> | ... <i>Upadim</i> , | ... for Strength, | an <i>Observer</i> . |
| 49 | <i>Varāya</i> | ... <i>Anurudham</i> , | ... for Varna (Descent) | a <i>Follower (or Page)</i> . |
| 50 | <i>Utsidebhyyah</i> | ... <i>Kubjam</i> , | ... for the Applying-of Unguents, | a <i>Hunchback</i> . |
| 51 | <i>Pramudē</i> | ... <i>Vāmanam</i> , | ... for Amusement. | a <i>Dwarf</i> . |
| 52 | <i>Dvārēbhyyah</i> | ... <i>Sṛimam</i> , | ... for Doors, | a <i>Blar-eyed-person</i> . |
| 53 | <i>Śvapnāya</i> | ... <i>Andham</i> , | ... for Dreaming, | a <i>Blind-person</i> . |
| 54 | <i>Adharmāya</i> | ... <i>Badhiram</i> , | ... for Irreligion, | a <i>Deaf-person</i> . |
| 55 | <i>Paritrāya</i> | ... <i>Bhishajam</i> , | ... for Purification, | a <i>Physician</i> . |
| 56 | <i>Prājñāya</i> | ... <i>Nakshatradarsham</i> | for Philosophy, | an <i>Astronomer</i> . |

* Mahādhara, the Commentator, makes this a *Slayer-of-birds*, and the *Lowest-born*, the *Pulkasa*.

† The coupling of the Watchman with the class of the Nishāda, suggests the idea that the word *Rakshasa* may have come into use from the aboriginal tribes having been employed as Watchmen. See above, p. 99.

‡ The name Yātudhāna is applied to magicians, barbarians, and demons.

§ "The younger being unmarried." Mahādhara.

- 57 *Ashikashyāi* ... *Prashninam*, ... for Non-instruction, a *Catechizer*.
- 58 *Upashikashyā* ... *Abhiprashninam*, ... for Elementary-
instruction, an *Interrogator*.
- 59 *Maryādīyāi* ... *Prashnariccam*, ... for Boundaries, ... a *Revealer-of-Omen*.
- 60 *Armedhyā* ... *Hastipam*, ... for Conveyances, ... an *Elephant-keeper*.
- 61 *Javdyā* ... *Ashvapam*, ... for Running, ... a *Horse-keeper*.
- 62 *Pushtai* ... *Gopālam*, ... for Nourishment, ... a *Cowkeeper*.
- 63 *Viryāyā* ... *Avipālam*, ... for Heroism, ... a *Shepherd*.
- 64 *Tējāsē* ... *Ajapālam*, ... for Bravery, ... a *Goatherd*.
- 65 *Irāyāi* ... *Kinīsham*, ... for the Earth, ... a *Cultivator*.
- 66 *Kildāyā* ... *Surikāram*, ... for Water, ... a *Dealer-in-Spirits*.
- 67 *Bhadrāyā* ... *Grihapam*, ... for Wellbeing, ... a *Housekeeper*.
- 68 *Shrēyāsē* ... *Vittadham*, ... for Prosperity, ... a *Holder-of-Wealth*.
- 69 *A'dhyakshyā* ... *Anukshattāram*, ... for Oversight, ... a *Footman*.
- 70 *Bhāyāi* ... *Dārvithāram*, ... for Combustion, ... a *Timber-bringer*.
- 71 *Prabhāyā* ... *Agnādham*, ... for Light, ... a *Fire-kindler*.
- 72 *Bradhnasya-*
vishtapdyā *Abhishektāram*, ... for the Region of an Anointer,
the San,
- 73 *Varshishthdyā-*
Nikdyā, *Parivēshtāram*, ... for Supreme Para- a *Distributor-of*
disc, food-to-guests.
- 74 *Dēvalokīyā* ... *Peshitāram*, ... for the Abode-of- a *Maker-of-figures*
the Gods,
- 75 *Manushyalokīyā* *Prakaritāram*, ... for the abode of Men a *Moulder*.
- 76 *Sarvebhyolokē-*
bhyā *Upasektāram*, ... for the Universe, ... a *Sprinkler*.
- 77 *Avarityai badh-*
ya *Upamanthitāram* ... for the Destruction- a *Turner*
of-Adversity,
- 78 *Medhīyā vāsah* *Palpālin*, ... for Sacrifice, ... a *Washer-of-clothes*.
- 79 *Prakāmyā* ... *Rajayitrim*, ... for Eagerness, ... a *Dyer-of-clothes*.
- 80 *Ritayē* ... *Stēnahridayam* ... for Prosperity, ... a *Thievish-hearted-*
person.
- 81 *Fairhotydyā* ... *Pishunam*, ... for Malicious-Mur- a *Backbiter*
der,
- 82 *Viviktyāi* ... *Kshattāram* ... for Loneliness, ... a *Kshatta (Lictor)*.
- 83 *Apadāstrīdyā* ... *Anukshattāram*, ... for Supervision, ... a *Sub-Lictor*.
- 84 *Balīyā* ... *Anucharam*, ... for Strength, ... a *Follower*.
- 85 *Bhūmnē* ... *Parishkandam*, ... for Water, ... a *Climber*.
- 86 *Priyāyā* ... *Priyavādinam*, ... for Love, ... a *Sweet-speaker*.
- 87 *Ariṣṭyā* ... *Asvasādam*, ... for Fortune (or Mis- a *Horseman*
fortune),
- 88 *Swargāyalokīyā* *Bhūgadugham*, ... for Heaven, ... a *Bhūgadugha*.*
- 89 *Manyavē* ... *Ayastāpam*, ... for Anger, ... a *Heater-of-iron* (a
Blacksmith?)
- 90 *Krodhīyā* ... *Nisaram*, ... for Anger, ... a *Ferryman*.
- 91 *Yogāyā* ... *Yuktāram*, ... for Junction, ... a *Joiner*.
- 92 *Shokdyā* ... *Abhisartāram*, ... for Grief, ... a *Waiter*.

* A Collector of the prince's revenue See before, p. 124.

| | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------------|--|---|
| 93 | <i>Kahemdyā</i> ... | <i>Vimokṣadram,</i> | . for Happiness, | ... a <i>Liberator.</i> |
| 94 | <i>Utkalanikulé- bhyāḥ</i> | <i>Strishthēnam,</i> | . for Arrival and Non- arrival, | a <i>Man-of-worth.</i> |
| 95 | <i>Vapushe</i> ... | <i>Mdnuskritam,</i> | . for a Handsome Body, | a <i>Proved-man.</i> |
| 96 | <i>Shikāya</i> ... | <i>Anjanikṣṛim,</i> | . for Beauty, | ... an <i>Angointer-of-the- eyes.</i> |
| 97 | <i>Nirityai</i> ... | <i>Koshakṣṛim,</i> | . for Misfortune, | ... a <i>Maker-of-sheaths for swords.</i> |
| 98 | <i>Yamūya</i> ... | <i>Asūm,</i> | . for Yama,* | ... a <i>Barren-woman.</i> |
| 99 | <i>Yamāya</i> ... | <i>Yamasūm,</i> | . for Yama, | ... a <i>Bearer-of-Twins.†</i> |
| 100 | <i>Atharvabhyo</i> ... | <i>Avatobām,</i> | . for a Priest, | ... a <i>Woman-without- offspring.</i> |
| 101 | <i>Samvatsarāya</i> | <i>Paryāyinim,</i> | . for a complete-year, | a <i>Woman-skilled-in- counting.</i> |
| 102 | <i>Parivatsarāya</i> | <i>Avijātām,</i> | . for the Past-Year, | a <i>Woman-who-has- not-borne-a-child.</i> |
| 103 | <i>Idāvatsarāya</i> ... | <i>Atitvurim,</i> | . for the Present- Year, | an <i>Unchaste-woman.</i> |
| 104 | <i>Idvatsarāya</i> ... | <i>Atishkadvarim,</i> | . for a Prosperous- Year, | a <i>Woman-in-her- courses.</i> |
| 105 | <i>Vatsarāya</i> ... | <i>Vijarjaram,</i> | . for the Year (un- defined.) | an <i>Old-woman.</i> |
| 106 | <i>Samvatsarāya.</i> | <i>Palihnim,</i> | . for Time, | ... a <i>White-haired-Wo- man.</i> |
| 107 | <i>Ribhubhyo</i> ... | <i>Ajinsandham,</i> | . for the Ribhūs, | a <i>Skindresser.</i> |
| 108 | <i>Sādhyebhyah</i> ... | <i>Charnamnam,</i> | . for the Sādhas, | a <i>Dealer-in-skins.</i> |
| 109 | <i>Sarobhyo</i> ... | <i>Dhaivaram,</i> | . for Waters, | a <i>Man-of-the-fisher- class.</i> |
| 110 | <i>Upasthāvard- bhyo</i> | <i>Dāsham,</i> | ... for Mountains, | a <i>Dāsha (Dasyu).</i> |
| 111 | <i>Vaishanta- bhyo</i> | <i>Baindam,</i> | ... for Pools, | <i>One-of-the-Binda- class (a Hunter).‡</i> |
| 112 | <i>Nadvalabhyah</i> | <i>Shaushkalam,</i> | ... for Fens, | a <i>Fishdealer.</i> |
| 113 | <i>Pārdya</i> ... | <i>Mārgāram,</i> | ... for the Opposite Bank of a River, | a <i>Deer-killer.</i> |
| 114 | <i>Avārayā</i> ... | <i>Kaivartam,</i> | ... for the Near Bank of a River, | a <i>Kaivartta (Fisher- man).</i> |
| 115 | <i>Tirthēbhyah§</i> ... | <i>A'ndam,</i> | ... for Ferries, | ... an <i>Anda.</i> |

* The god of the other world.

† In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, we have *Yamyai*, the dative feminine, for *Yamāya* of the *Shukla Yajur-Veda* text. This reading, which refers the personage represented to *Yami*, the sister, or wife of *Yama*, seems the more appropriate.

‡ The commentator couples the *Binda* or *Vinda* with the *Nishāda*, possibly with reference to the *Vindhya* mountains.

§ The word *tirtha*, here used as a ferry, seems to have got into use from the *Brahmanic* missionaries having chosen the ferries of rivers as their early stations.

| | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|----------------------------|---|---|
| 116 | <i>Viśamebhyo</i> | <i>Muñālam,</i> | ... for Precipices, | ... One-of-the Mindia- class. |
| 117 | <i>Svanēbhyah</i> | ... <i>Parnakam,</i> | ... for Echoes, | ... a <i>Parnaka</i> (Vender of leaves). |
| 118 | <i>Guhābhyah</i> | ... <i>Kīrtam,</i> | ... for Caves, | ... a <i>Kīrāta</i> . |
| 119 | <i>Sēnubhyo</i> | ... <i>Jambhākam,</i> | ... for Mountain Pla- teaus, | a <i>Jambhaka</i> (<i>Sa- vage</i>). |
| 120 | <i>Parvatēbhyah</i> | <i>Kimpūrusham,</i> | ... for (High) Moun- tains, | a <i>Kimpūrusha</i> . |
| 121 | <i>Bibhatsāyāi</i> | ... <i>Paulkasam,</i> | ... for Disgust, | ... a Person of the Pul- kasa tribe. |
| 122 | <i>Varṇāya</i> | ... <i>Hiranyakdrām.</i> | ... for the Precious Metal, | a Goldsmith. |
| 123 | <i>Tuldyai</i> | ... <i>Vdnijam,</i> | ... for Weighing, | ... a Person of the Vdnī class (a Vender). |
| 124 | <i>Pashchādo- shāya</i> | <i>Gldvinam,</i> | ... for the "Posterior- fault," | a Mourner. |
| 125 | <i>Viśvēbhyobhū- tēbhyah</i> | <i>Sidhmalam,</i> | ... for the Vishvé-Bhū- tas (all-the-Pe- mons), | a Leper. |
| 126 | <i>Bhūtyai</i> | ... <i>Jūgaranam,</i> | ... for Prosperity, | ... a Watcher. |
| 127 | <i>Abhūtyai</i> | ... <i>Soapanam,</i> | ... for Adversity, (or Non-Existences), | a Drowning man. |
| 128 | <i>A'rtyai</i> | ... <i>Janavddinam,</i> | ... for Sickness. | ... a Popular-Speaker. |
| 129 | <i>Vridhyni</i> | ... <i>Apagābham,</i> | ... for Old-age, | ... an Infirm-person. |
| 130 | <i>Shansharāya</i> | ... <i>Prachidam,</i> | ... for the Commence- ment-of-a-Con- test, | a Foreslasher. |
| 131 | <i>Akshardjiya</i> | ... <i>Kituvam,</i> | ... for the Chief-of-the- Dice, | a Gambler. |
| 132 | <i>Kṛitāya</i> | ... <i>Adinavadarsham,</i> | for the Kṛita (the first Yuga, that of deeds), | an Inspector-of- faults. |
| 133 | <i>Trēdyai</i> | ... <i>Kalpinam,</i> | ... for the Trēta (Yuga), | a Trickster. |
| 134 | <i>Dvāparyāya</i> | ... <i>Adhikalpinam,</i> | ... for the Dvāpāra Yuga, | an Arch-trickster. |
| 135 | <i>A'skandāya</i> | ... <i>Sabhāsthānūm,</i> | ... for the A'skanda (the Evil Yuga), | a Lounger-in-meet- ings.* |
| 136 | <i>Mṛityavē</i> | ... <i>Govyachham,</i> | ... for Death, | ... an Attendant-on-cows |
| 137 | <i>Antakāya</i> | ... <i>Goghātām,</i> | ... for the Agent-of- Death, | a Cow-killer. |
| 138 | <i>Duṣhkṛitāya</i> | ... <i>Charakāchāryam,</i> | for Wickedness, | ... a Charakāchārya.† |

* This is the first notice in the Indian literature of the "Four Ages" of the world. The last of them, here denominated the *A'skanda*, is in the third Kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya Brāhmana of the Black Yajur Vēda (Author's MS. fol. 41.) named the *Kālī*, the designation which it now commonly bears.

† Mahādhara renders this a "Guru of the Charakas," who belonged to a Śākha of the Black-Yajur-Vēda.

| | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|--|---|
| 139 | <i>Papmanā</i> | ... <i>Saikagam</i> , | ... for Depravity, | ... a <i>Follower-of-his-own Inclinations</i> . |
| 140 | <i>Pratishrukaya</i> | <i>Artanam</i> , | ... for Silent-listening, | a <i>Sufferer</i> . |
| 141 | <i>Ghoshaya</i> | ... <i>Bhāsham</i> , | ... for Noise, | a <i>Speaker</i> . |
| 142 | <i>Antāya</i> | ... <i>Bahvoddinam</i> , | ... for the End-of-Life, | a <i>Much-speaker</i> . |
| 143 | <i>Anundāya</i> | ... <i>Mūkam</i> , | ... for Infinity, | a <i>Dumb-person</i> . |
| 144 | <i>Shabdāya</i> | ... <i>Adambharaghatam</i> , | for Sound, | a <i>Beater-of-drums</i> . |
| 145 | <i>Mahasē</i> | ... <i>Vindvadam</i> , | ... for a Festival (season of worship), | a <i>Player-on-the-Vind</i> . |
| 146 | <i>Kroshaya</i> | ... <i>Tupavadhnam</i> , | ... for Weeping, | a <i>Blower-of-the-Tupa</i> . |
| 147 | <i>Avarasapāyā</i> | <i>Shankhadhnam</i> , | ... for Procession, | a <i>Blower-of-the-Conch</i> . |
| 148 | <i>Vandya</i> | ... <i>Vanapam</i> , | ... for the Forest, | a <i>Forester</i> . |
| 149 | <i>Anyatoranyāya</i> | <i>Dāvapam</i> , | ... for an Unpassable-Forest, | a <i>Burner</i> . |
| 150 | <i>Agnayē</i> | ... <i>Pivānam</i> , | ... for Fire, | a <i>Waterman</i> . |
| 151 | <i>Prithivyai</i> | ... <i>Pīṭhasarpinam</i> , | ... for the Earth, | a <i>Lame-person</i> ("one who creeps or moves along on a seat"). |
| 152 | <i>Vāyavē</i> | ... <i>Chāyādānam</i> , | ... for the Wind, | a <i>Chāyādā</i> . |
| 153 | <i>Antarikshāya</i> | ... <i>Vanshamartanam</i> , | ... for the Firmament (Middle-of-the Sky), | a <i>Pole-dancer</i> . |
| 154 | <i>Divē</i> | ... <i>Khalatīm</i> , | ... for the Heaven, | a <i>Bald-headed man</i> . |
| 155 | <i>Sūryāya</i> | ... <i>Haryaksham</i> , | ... for the Sun, | a <i>Man with greenish eyes</i> . |
| 156 | <i>Nakshatrebhyaḥ</i> | <i>Kirmīram</i> , | ... for the Constellations, | a <i>Man-of-variegated colour</i> . |
| 157 | <i>Chandnamasē</i> | <i>Kīlāsam</i> , | ... for the Moon, | a <i>Man-with-scabs</i> . |
| 158 | <i>Anhē</i> | ... <i>Shuklam</i> <i>Pīṅgāksham</i> , | for the Day, | a <i>Reddish-eyed-person</i> . |
| 159 | <i>Ratrayai</i> | ... <i>Krishnam</i> <i>Pīṅgāksham</i> , | for Night, | a <i>Dark-red-eyed-person</i> . |

Such is the thirtieth *adhyāya* of the Yajur-Véda, in a complete form. Though found in the *Sanhitā* of that Véda, it clearly belongs to the period of the Brāhmaṇa, —from 800-600 B. C.,—when the liturgical arrangements of the A'ryas assumed their definite form. It throws much light on the state of Indian Society at the time to which it belongs. It mentions various distinctive classes in the community. Some of these are viewed in their moral aspects, as those of the thief, the murderer,

the drunkard, the paramour, the adulteress, the licentious-woman, the liberator, the thievish-hearted one, the backbiter, the virtuous-man, the slothful-man, and the man-that-follows-his-own-inclinations. Some of them are noticed in connexion with natural deformities, deficiencies, infirmities, and diseases, as those of the madman, the blind-person, the hunchback, the dwarf, the deaf-person, the blear-eyed person, the leper, the infirm-person, the sufferer, the baldheaded-man, the person-with-scabs, the person-who-creeps (who is lame?) Some of them are mentioned in connexion with their personal and family peculiarities, as the eunuch, the son-of-an-unmarried-girl, the married-elder-brother, the barren-woman, the bearer-of-twins, the woman-without-offspring, the woman-who-has-not-born-a-child, the woman-in-her-courses, the old-woman, the man-with-greenish-eyes, the man-with-variegated-eyes, the man-with-reddish-eyes, and the man-with-red-eyes. Some of them are introduced in connexion with their employments and social relations, as the actor, the attendant-on-the-synagogue, the orator, the artist, the chariotmaker, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the jeweller, the sower, the maker-of-arrows, the maker-of-bows, the maker-of-bowstrings, the ropemaker, the huntsman, the dogman, the player-at-dice, the non-player-at-dice, the female basketmaker, the woman-who-makes-pins (of thorns?), the companion, the follower, the observer, the physician, the astronomer, the catechist, the interrogator, the elephant-keeper, the horse-keeper, the cowherd, the shepherd, the goatherd, the cultivator, the spirit-dealer, the house-keeper, the holder-of-wealth (money-lender?), the runner-after-a-chariot, the wood-

man, the fire-kindler, the anointer, the server-of-meals, the figure-maker, the moulder, the sprinkler (with perfumes?), the washerwoman, the dyer-of-clothes, the licitor (or doorkeeper), the sub-licitor, the body-attendant, the tax-collector, the ferryman, the joiner, the waiter, the applier-of-unguents-to-the-eyes, the scabbard-maker, the female-knower-of-sequence (the soothsayer?), the skin-dresser, the dealer-in-skins, the fisherman, the hunter, the fishdealer, the deer-killer, the leaf-seller, the (boat)-binder, the goldsmith, the vender or merchant, the (hired) mourner, the watchman, the public-crier, the foreslasher (in battle), the gambler, the viewer-of-the-early-sun (in worship), the fabricator, the arch-fabricator, the attendant-on-cows, the cow-killer, the priest-of-the-Charakas, the speaker (of nonsense), the copious-speaker, the drum-beater, the player-on-the-Vīṇa (lute), the blower-of-the-tūṇa (bagpipes), the blower of the conch, the forester, the forest-burner, the waterman, the pole-dancer. Some are noticed who, it may be supposed, had a definite status of office or rank in the community, as the Brāhman, the Rājanya, the Vaishya, the Shūdra, the Sūta, the Vratya. And some are mentioned as belonging to tribes receiving their denominations principally from the countries to which they belonged, as the Ayogava, the Magadha, the Taskara, the Naishāda, the Dāsha (Dasyu), the Kaivarta, the Baina (of Vind), the Maināl, the Kirāta, the Jambhaka, the Kimpūruṣha, the Paulkasa (or Pulkasa), and the Chāṇḍāla. All this testifies to the multifariousness of rank and division of labour in the Indian community.

Many of the classes of men here mentioned were ulti-

mately recognized as forming distinctive Castes, as will appear from their designations when compared with the list of castes which we have already inserted.* In the passage, which, we have just quoted, however, there is no decided proof of anything like a complete establishment of the caste-system at the time to which it belongs. The *Bráhmaṇ*, doubtless, had his claims to superiority from his office of conversancy with the *Brahma*, now probably generally hereditary. The prince is the representative of the *Kshatra*, or power. Tillage is in the hands of the *Vaishya*, who, it is to be noticed, is distinct from the *Váni*, or merchant. The symbolical representative of toil is the *Shúdra*. The numerous parties engaged in distinctive occupations are certainly not mentioned in any order of rank or even of fixed profession. There is here no fabulous reference to any parties born of a conventional or adulterous mixture of Caste. If the Caste system did at this time exist to any extent, it was far from being matured. Most of the classes mentioned without such patronymics as we find in the case of the *Mágadhas* and *Chañdálas*, we have reason to believe, were *Áryas*, or related to the *Áryas*. It is to be particularly observed that no exterior tribes are mentioned which have been recognized geographically as having their location south of the *Vindhya* mountains. This range, up to the period of the composition of this *Adhyaya*, had probably not been crossed by the *Áryas*.

The *Purusha Súkta*, which we have already quoted from the *Rig-Véda*,† follows this *Adhyaya* in the *White Yajur-Véda*. Little light is cast on its mysterious sym-

* See above, pp. 65-70.

† See above, pp. 118-119.

bolism by the commentator Mahídharā. Without compunction, and without any attention to the literal meaning of his text, he derives the Bráhmān *from* the mouth of Prajapati, the Kshatriya *from* his arms, and the Vaishya *from* his thighs. The Indian mind had undergone a great deterioration when it turned poetical figures into literal facts; when it turned the simple and natural, though physiolatrous, poetry of the Védas into legendry; and when it multiplied and magnified the legends to enormities and absurdities of the most grotesque and monstrous character.

This deterioration of the Indian mind is particularly apparent in the *Atharva*, or fourth *Véda*, to which, in connexion with the subject before us, we now turn our attention. As already mentioned, the word *Atharva* corresponds with the Zand *A'thrava*, etymologically a fire-man.* It occurs in the Rig-Véda as the name of a particular Rishi or sage, from the constituents of whose school, or course, in after times it probably received its designation. It differs very considerably in its authority and character from the other Védas, which, more than it, are particularly associated with sacrifice. "As there are three different branches of the ceremonial, the Véda is, for the better performance of the sacrifices, divided into three: the Rig-Véda, Yájur-Véda, and Sāma-Véda. The ceremonial of the Hotri priests is performed with the Rig-Véda; that of the Adhvaryu priests, with the Yájur-Véda; that of the Udgātri priests, with the Sāma-Véda. The duties of the Bráhmaṇ priests, and of him for whom the sacrifice is offered, are also contained in these three Védas. The Atharva-Véda is not used for solemn sacri-

* See above, p. 91.

fices, and is very different from the others, as it teaches only expiatory, preservative, or imprecatory rites." This sensible opinion of Madhusūdan Sarasvatī, quoted by Dr. Müller,* has been confirmed by the research of European and American orientalists. "The Atharvaṇa," says Professor Whitney (with Dr. R. Roth, the joint-editor of its Text,†) "is like the R̥ich, a historical general, and not a liturgical collection. Its first eighteen books, of which alone it was originally composed, are arranged upon a like system throughout: the length of the hymns, and not either their subject or their alleged authorship, being the guiding principle: those of about the same number of verses are combined together into books, and the books made up of the shorter hymns stand first in order. A sixth of the mass, however, is not metrical, but consists of longer or shorter prose pieces, nearly akin in point of language and style to passages of the Brāhmaṇas. Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also found among the hymns of the R̥ich, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter: the rest is peculiar to the Atharva. The greater portion of them are plainly shown, both by their language and internal character, to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historic Vēda (the R̥ig-Vēda), and even than its tenth book, with which they stand nearly connected in import and origin." "The most prominent characteristic feature of the Atharvaṇa is the multitude of incantations which it con-

* History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 122. For Madhusūdan's complete view of the Orthodox Brāhmaṇical Literature, see Weber's Indische Studien, i. p. 1-20.

† In the work, as edited by them, there are 10,296 lines.

tains ; these are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefited, or, more often, by the sorcerer for him, and are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends ; most frequently, perhaps, long life, or recovery from grievous sickness, is the object sought ; there a talisman, such as a necklace, is sometimes given, or in very numerous cases some plant endowed with marvellous virtues is to be the immediate external means of cure ; further, the attainment of wealth or power is aimed at, the downfall of enemies, success in love or in play, the removal of petty pests, and so on, even down to the growth of hair on a bald pate.* “ The origin of the Atharva Sanhitá,” says Professor Weber, “ falls within the period when Bráhmaism had become dominant. . . . Many of the hymns which it contains are to be found also in the Rik-Sanhitá,† but there they are recent interpolations originating in the period when its compilation took place, while in the Atharva collection they are the just and proper expression of the present. The spirit of the two collections is entirely different. In the Rik there breathes a lively natural feeling, a warm love for nature ; while in the Atharva, on the contrary, there predominates an anxious apprehension of evil spirits and their magical powers : in the Rik we see the people in the exercise of perfect freedom and voluntary activity, while in the Atharva, we observe them bound in the fetters of the hierarchy and superstition.”‡ The very

* Journ. of the American Or. Soc. iv. 254-5, 308.

† [Less proportionally of the material of the Atharva-Véda is from the Rig-Véda than that of the Sáma and Yajas.]

‡ Hist. of Ind. Lit. quoted in Muir's Texts, ii. p. 202.

name of the Atharva Vēda, derived from a particular class of priests, shows that originally it had somewhat of a sectarial character. "According to the original distribution of the sacrificial offices among the four classes of priests, the supervision of the whole sacrifice, and the remedying of any mistake that might have happened belonged to the Brāhman. He had to know the three Vēdas, to follow in his mind the whole sacrifice, and to advise the other priests on all doubtful points. If it was the office of the Brāhman to remedy mistakes in the performance of the sacrifice, and if, for that purpose, the formulas of the Atharvangiras were considered of special efficacy, it follows that it was chiefly the Brāhman who had to acquire a knowledge of these formulas. Now the office of the Brāhman was contested by the other classes of priests. The Bahvṛichas maintain that the office of Brāhman should be held by a Bahvṛicha (Hotṛi), the Adhvaryas maintain that it belongs to one of their own body, and the Chhandogas also preferred similar claims. It was evidently the most important office, and in many instances, though not always, it was held by the Purohita, the hereditary family priest. Certain families also claimed a peculiar fitness for the office of Brāhman, such as the Vasiṣṭhas, and Vishvāmitras... Because a knowledge of the songs of the Atharvangiras was most important to the Brāhman or Purohita; these songs themselves, when once admitted to the rank of a Vēda, were called the Vēda of the Brāhman, or the Brāhma-Vēda."

* Müller's History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 447-8.

Dr. M. adds, however, "It is a common mistake in later writers to place the Atharva Vēda co-ordinate with the other Vēdas."

That the Atharva Vēda should magnify the Indian priesthood, and especially the Brāhman, as distinguished from the Hotri, Adhvaryu, etc., is but natural on the ground here stated. We now refer to the general information bearing on our inquiries which it contains.

Both the Brāhmans and the Kshatra are represented in it as engaged in extolling Agni.* In behalf of a Rājā the prayer is offered up that he may be the only lord of his country, and that he may be praised by the Visha (here his subjects in general) throughout his realm.† The Kshatra, Rathakāra, Karmāra, and the Grāmani and Sūta established in the service ‡ of a Rājā are mentioned as associated together. § A Purohita (family priest) prays that the bravery and power of the Kshatra whom he represents may be undecaying. || Of the Brāhman it is said, "The Brāhman was the first born with ten heads (and) ten faces (that is, probably with extraordinary capacities); he was the first that drank the Soma, he made poison a (harmless) juice." ¶ The Shūdra is recognized as distinct from the A'rya,** and also the Dāsa from the A'rya, as in the Rīg-Vēda. †† Vishvāmitra, originally of the royal race, and Jamadagni, are associated with the Brahmanic Vasishṭha in the protection of Mitra and Varuṇa. The supremacy of the Brāhman is thus set forth :—"The Brāhman is lord, not the Rājanya, nor

* Atharva Vēda, ii. 6. 2, 4.

† Atharva Vēda, iii. 4. 1-2.

‡ *Rajakritāh*.

§ A. V. iii. 5. 1-7.

|| A. V. iii. 19. 1-2.

¶ A. V. iv. 6. 1.

** वेनेहं सर्वं पस्या मृत शुद्रमतायम्. By it, (a particular medicine) I see everything, whether the Shūdra or the A'rya, A. V. iv. 20. 8.

†† A. V. iv. 32. 1.

the *Vaishya*.”* “Let not the *Rājanya*,” it is enjoined, desire to eat the inedible cow of a Brāhman”,† a claim being thus put forth of a privilege for the Brāhman’s pet, afterwards extended by degrees to the bovine race in general. The Brāhman’s life, it is said, is not to be taken, and his body is to be loved like that of Agni.‡ A curious passage coaxing the departure of a certain disease called Takman (first brought to notice by Dr. Roth) throws some light on the boundaries of the Indo-Aryan community and its distant neighbours. “His (Takman’s) abode are the *Mújavats*, his abode the *Mahāvishas*. As soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou sojournest (?) among the *Bahlikas*. Go, Takman, to the *Mújavats*, or far way to the *Bahlikas*. Choose the female *Shúdra* for food; and shake her. Passing by our friends (?), devour the *Mahāvishas* and the *Mújavats*. We point out to Takman these or those foreign regions. Takman along with thy brother *Balása*, and with thy sister *Kásiká* (cough), and with thy nephew *Páman*, depart to that foreign people. We transfer Takman as a servant and as a treasure, to the *Gandhárins*, the *Mújavats*, the *Angas* and the *Magadhas*.”|| An extract is given from the hymn in the Rig-Véda, in which *Vasishtha* complains of being called a *Yátudhána*

* ब्राह्मण एव पतिर्न राजन्यो न वैश्यः A. V. v. 17. 9.

† मा ब्राह्मणस्य राजन्य गो जिघत्सो अनाद्याम्. A. V. v. 18. 1.

‡ A. V. v. 18. 6.

|| A. V. v. 22. 5-14. The translation of this passage is from Muir’s Texts, ii: 364. Mantras like this are yet repeated for the banishment of disease from India.

by *Vishvámitra*.* The word *Brahmachári* seems to be used as synonymous with *Bráhma*n, and is set forth as the first born of the *Bráhma* or prayér, which he advances.† The *Purusha Sukta* is given with a few variations from the form in which it appears in the *Rig-Véda*. The text of it which applies to caste reads thus :—“The *Bráhma*n was his mouth; the *Rájanya* became (*abhavat*) his arms; the *Vaishya* was his middle (*madhyam*); the *Shúdra* sprung from his feet.”‡ Though, as we have already shown, little stress is to be laid on this passage, it is evident that the collection of the *Atharva Véda* was made when the caste system had made considerable progress.

2. We now leave the *Védas*, and proceed to the *Bráhmaṇas*.

The *Bráhmaṇas*, which are to be distinguished from the *Mantras*, or *Vedic Texts*, derived from the *Sanhitás* or collections of the *Vedic Hymns*, are essentially considered *Liturgical* and *Rubrical Directories* for the ceremonies to be performed by the *Bráhmans*, from their connexion with whom, or as comprehending the *Brahma* technically understood, they derive their name. Their contents, however, are really of a varied character. “The difficulty,” says Dr. Müller, of giving an exhaustive definition of what a *Bráhmaṇa* is, has been felt by the *Bráhmans* themselves. The name given to this class of literature does not teach us more than that these works belonged to the *Bráhmans*. They are *Brahmanic*, i. e. *theological tracts*, comprising

* A. V. viii. 4. 14-16. Attention to this passage, as found in the R. V., was first drawn by Dr. Müller in Bunsen's *Outlines of the Phil. of Un. Hist.* i. p. 344.

† A. V. xi. 5. 4-7.

‡ A. V. 19. 6-6.

the knowledge most valued by the Bráhmans, bearing partly on the traditions and customs of the people. They profess to teach the performance of the sacrifice; but for the greater part they are occupied with additional matter; with explanations and illustrations of things more or less distantly connected with their original faith and their ancient ceremonial." "There was originally but one body of Bráhmaṇas for each of the three Vedas; for the Rig-Véda, the Bráhmaṇas of the Bahvrichas, for the Sama-Véda the Bráhmaṇas of the Chhandogas, and for the Yajur-Véda in its two forms, the Bráhmaṇas of the Taittiríyas, and the Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa. These works were not written in metre, like the Sanhitás, and were therefore more exposed to alteration in the course of a long continued oral tradition. We possess the Bráhmaṇa of the Bahvrichas in the Shákhás [Memorial Stems, or Schools] of the Aitaréyins and the Kaushítakins." *

"The Bráhmaṇas," Dr. Müller continues, "represent no doubt a most interesting phase in the history of the Indian mind, but judged by themselves, as literary productions, they are more disappointing. No one would have supposed that at so early a period, and in so primitive a state of society, there could have risen up a literature, which for pedantry and downright absurdity can hardly be matched anywhere. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expressions, of sound reasoning, and curious traditions in these collections. But these are only like the fragments of a torso, like precious gems set in brass and lead. The general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence, by priestly

* History of Sanscrit Literature, pp. 342-346.

conceit, and antiquarian pedantry. It is most important to the historian that he should know how soon the fresh and healthy growth of a nation can be blighted by priestcraft and superstition. It is most important that we should know that nations are liable to these epidemics in their youth as well as in their dotage. These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots, and the raving of madmen. They will disclose to a thoughtful eye the ruins of faded grandeur, the memories of noble aspirations. But let us only try to translate these works into our own language, and we shall feel astonished that human language and human thought should ever have been used for such purposes." * These writings, however, are still deserving of special attention. "Though their professed object is to teach the sacrifice, they allow a much larger space to dogmatical, exegetical, mystical, and philosophical speculations than to the ceremonial itself. They appeal continually to older authorities." † "The Brāhmaṇas exhibit the accumulated thought of a long succession of early theologians and philosophers. But the very earliest of these sages follow a train of thought which gives clear evidence of a decaying religion." ‡ "These books will always be to us the most valuable sources for tracing the beginnings of thought on divine things; and, at the same time, sources from which we may draw the most varied information regarding the conceptions on which the entire system of worship, as well as the social and hierarchical order of India are founded." §

* History of Sanscrit Literature, pp. 389-390.

† Ib. p. 328.

‡ Ib. pp. 429.

§ Dr. Roth's Introduction to the Nirukta, quoted in Muir's Texts, p. 193.

At the time of the composition of the Bráhmaṇas, which may be stated as extending from 800 to 600 B. C., the collection of the three olden Védas was doubtless formed. The following passage from the *Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa*, which is worthy of notice in several particulars, establishes this fact, as far as that work at least is concerned. "Prajápati desired that for the being of Prajá (offspring) there should be done (what was required). He, setting a toiling, performed *tapa* (toil). After performing *tapa*, he created these Worlds—the Earth, the Medial Expanse (*antariksha*), (and) Heaven (*Díva*). Having performed *tapa* for these worlds, he again performed *tapa*, and the three Lights were produced—Fire (Agni) from earth, Wind (Váyu) from the expanse, and the Sun (Aditya) from the heaven. Having performed *tapa* for these lights, he again performed *tapa*, and the three Védas were produced:—the Rig Veda sprung from fire ; the Yajur-Veda, from wind ; and the Sáma-Veda from the sun. Having performed *tapa* for these Védas, he again performed *tapa*, and the three *Shukras* were produced.* *Bhu* was made from the Rig-Veda ; *Bhuvá*, from the Yajur-Veda, and *Sva* from the Sáma Veda. Having performed *tapa* for these *Shukras*, he again performed *tapa*, (and) the three *Varnas* were made—*akár*, *ukár*, *makár*. From the combination of these (OM, quasi *Aum*) was produced."* The

* As this is one of the earliest accounts of Creation according to Hindu notions, we may give the Sanskrit of this passage :—
 प्रजापतिरकामयत् प्रजायेयभूयान्स्यामिति स तपोतपत् सतपस्तप्त्वे माञ्छोकानसृजत्
 पृथ्वीमंतरिक्षं दिवंतान्त्योकानभ्यतपत्प्रेभ्योभितप्रेभ्यस्त्वोणि ज्योतींष्यजायन्ताग्निरेवपृथिव्या
 अजायत् वायुरंतरिक्षादित्यो दिवस्तानी ज्योतींष्यभ्यतपत्प्रेभ्योभितप्रेभ्य स्त्रयोवेदा
 अजायन् ऋग्वेद एवाग्नेरजायत् यजुर्वेदो वायोः सामवेद आदित्यात्तान्वेदानभ्यतपत्प्रेभ्यो

collections of the Védas are here distinctively mentioned, though a very different origin is attributed to these works from any mentioned by the Rishis themselves, the veritable composers of the Védic Hymns, who indite from their own mental impulse, or ask the assistance of the gods in their laudatory and supplicatory compositions. The triliteral, and afterwards mystical, syllable AUM, OM, seems here derived from the initial letters—*a* of *Agni*, *u* (the vocal representative of *r*) of *Váyu*, and *m* of *Mitra* (the midday sun, the equivalent of *Aditya*). Of the *Shukras*, with OM prefixed to the *Gáyatrí* verse of the *Rig-Véda* (3 asht. 10th varg) *bhu* means earth, *bhuvá* sky, and *sva*, heaven. All this technical trifling (and it was afterwards greatly extended) betokens degeneration.

The Bráhmans, as a pre-eminent class, are particularly brought to notice, in the *Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa*, the principal notices of which bearing on Caste we shall now introduce.

In the first chapter of the first Panchiká of this work, the following passages occur in connexion with the *Dikshá*, or sacrifice of the new birth, when a man is admitted for the first time to the use of sacrifice :—“ He who wishes for beauty and for wisdom (*brahmararchasa*), let him use

भित्तयेभ्य स्त्रीणी शुक्राण्यजायन् भूरित्येव ऋग्वेदात् अजायत भुव इति यजुर्वेदात् स्वरिति सामवेदात् तानि शुक्राण्यभ्यतपत्तेभ्योभित्तयेभ्य स्वयोवर्णा अजायन्त अकार उकारो मकार इती तानेकधा समभरत्तदेतदेमिती. Ait. Brah. V. 5. Author's MS. No. 1. fol. 61 ; No. 2. fol. 148. The first of these MSS. is a trophy of peace, from a converted Bráhman ; the second a trophy of war, with other Vedic works part of the plunder of the Bombay troops at the late affairs of Bét and Dváraká. presented to me by my friend Dr. John Grant Nicolson.

the two Gáyatrí verses of the Sviṣṭakṛit. The Gáyatrí is beauty, full of wisdom. He who knowing this uses the two Gáyatrís becomes possessed of beauty and wisdom. Let him who desires strength, use the two Trīṣṭubhs. Trīṣṭubh is strength, which is vigour and power. He who knowing this uses (the) two Trīṣṭubhs, becomes strong, vigorous and powerful. Let him who desires cattle, use (the) two Jagatís, Cattle is Jagatí-like. He who knowing this uses the two Jagatís becomes rich in cattle.”* In the fifth chapter of the same section, the *Bráhmaṇa* is commanded to use the Gáyatrí for wisdom and glory; the *Rájanya*, the Trīṣṭubh, for splendour and bravery; and the *Vaishya*, the Jagatí, for the obtainment of cattle. The characteristics of the three classes of the Áryas are here, for the first time, distinctively recognized. †

In the second section of the *Bráhmaṇa* now referred to, ‡ a party denominated *Kavasha Ailusha*, is represented as expelled from the sacrifice as a *Dasyaputra*, and re-admitted only by the special favour of the gods, although certain hymns in the *Rig-Véda* are ascribed to him as their Rishi in the *Anukramaniká* (or Index) of that *Véda*. The name *Kavasha* appears to me to be Iranian, and is similar to one found among the *Pársis* of the present day.§

* This chapter of the *Bráhmaṇa* is translated by Dr. Max Müller (from whom I borrow these sentences) with his usual life and elegance, in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* pp. 390-405.

† Author's MS. No. 1 fol. 9, of *Panchiká* i. Several other similar passages occur in this *Bráhmaṇa*.

‡ *Ait. Bráhmaṇa*, ii. 19.

§ In *Kavas* (ji). The Zand name is *Kava uš*. This in Sanskrit (in the adjective form) as shown by Dr. Roth (*Zeit. D. M. G.* ii. p. 226-7) is *Kávyā Ushash*.

The probability is that when the Hymns of Kavasha were composed, no exception was taken against them because of his race, the caste-system having not been then fully developed, while in the age of the Bráhmaṇa, it was thought expedient to invent a legend, or fiction, to support that system.

In the third Panchiká, the Bráhmaṇ is spoken of as standing in the relationship of Bṛihaspati, the Purohita of the gods.*

In the seventh Panchiká, there is an important passage which is thus noticed by Dr. Müller.—“We find several instances where priests, if once employed by a royal family, claim to be employed always. When Janamejaya Párikshita ventured to perform a sacrifice without the Kashyapas, he was forced by the Asitamṛigas, a family of the Kashyapas to employ them again. When Vishvántara Saushadmana drove away the Shyáparṇas from his sacrifice, he was prevailed upon by Ráma Márgavéya to call them back”.† All this shows that the priestly office was of great importance in the ancient times of India.

In the seventh panchiká and seventh chapter of this Aitareya Bráhmaṇa, there is a remarkable legend connect-

* Aitareya Br. iii. 2. 17.

† Ait. Br. vii. 5. 27. “Márgavéya,” says Dr. Müller, (Hist. of S. Lit. p. 487) “is a difficult name. It may be simply, as Sáyana says, the son of his mother Mṛigú; but Mṛigú may be a variety of Bhrigu, and thus confirm Lassen’s conjecture that this Ráma is Ráma, the son of Jamadagni, of the race of Bhrigu, commonly called Parashuráma. Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 216.” In this espousment of the cause of these Purohitas, we perhaps see the origin of the exaggerated legends of the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Parashuráma.

ed with Harishchandra, the son of Védhas of the Royal family of Ikshvaku, which, although of a very wild character, throws a good deal of light on the state of ancient Aryan society. It has been noticed of late years by several orientalists, and has long been effectively applied by myself in my intercourse with the Bráhmans in illustration of the gradual growth of caste feeling in 'Indiā. While referring to it, both as found in the original and as quoted and translated by Dr. Max Müller, we would note what connected with it appears to bear on this development of caste. Harishchandra, though he had a hundred wives, had no son. On the advantages of a son having been propounded to him in ten verses by Nárada (a sage often brought to notice in Indian dialogues,)* he applied, as directed, to Varuṇa for one, promising if his wishes were realized to sacrifice him to that deity. A son was born to him called Rohita. With varying pretences, assented to by Varuṇa, he got repeated postponements of the engagement till the son was ten days old, till his first set of teeth came, till these teeth fell out, till he got new teeth, and till as a *Kshatriya* he was girt with armour. When the father at length consented to fulfill his promise, the son took his bow, went to the forest, and lived there for a year, when, on his father having been afflicted with dropsy by Varuṇa, he returned to the village. Indra, in the form of a *Bráhman*, having advised him again to wander about in the forest, he did this for a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth year on the repeated advice of this God,

* In stating the advantages of a son, a daughter is declared to be an-object-of-pity—कृपण इ दुहिता.

following his annual visits to the village.* When he was travelling in the sixth year, "He met in the forest a starving Rishi, Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa. He had three sons—Shunahpuccha, Skunahshépha, and Shunolángula. Rohita said to him: "Rishi, I give you a hundred cows, I ransom myself with one of those thy sons." The Father embraced the elder, and said, "Not him." "Nor him," said the mother, embracing the youngest. And the parents bargained to give Shunahshépha, the middle son. Rohita gave a hundred, took him, and went from the forest to the village. And he came to his father, and said: "Father, Death! I ransom myself by him." The father went to Varuṇa, and said, "I shall sacrifice this man to you." Varuṇa said, "Yes, for a *Bráhmaṇ* is better than a *Kshatriyá*." And he told him to perform a *Rájasuya* sacrifice.† Harishchandra took him to be the victim for the day, when the Soma is spent to the gods. Vishvámitra [a *Kshatriyá* who, it is said, by his knowledge and practice forced himself into the acknowledged profession of the *Bráhmaṇ*hood‡] was his *Hotri*-priest; Jamadagni, his *Adhvaryu* priest; Vasiṣṭha [a *Bráhmaṇ* with whom Vishvámitra had oft contend-

* On the fifth occasion Indra uses this argument:—"A man who is asleep is like the *Kali* (age); a man who is awake is like the *Dvápara*; a man who is arisen is the *Trétá*; a man who is travelling is like the *Kṛta*. Travel! Travel!" Dr. Müller correctly says, "This is one of the earliest allusions to the four ages of the world." Two others we have already noticed. See above, p. 131.

† A great monarchical sacrifice, at which in addition to the religious services, the chieftains assembled to express their fealty.

‡ See before, p. 104.

ed], the *Brahmāṣṭ** Ayásya, the *Udgatri* priest. When Shunahshépha had been prepared, they found nobody to bind him to the sacrificiāl post. And Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa, said, ‘Give me another hundred, and I shall bind him.’ They gave him another hundred, and he bound him. And Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa, said: ‘Give me another hundred, and I shall kill him.’ They gave him another hundred, and he came whetting his sword. Then Shunahshépha thought. ‘They will readily kill me, as if I was not a man. Death! I shall pray to the gods.’ He addressed himself first to Prajápati, who referred him to Agni, who referred him to Savitṛi, who referred him to Varuṇa, who referred him to Agni, who referred him to the Vishvé-Deváḥ, who referred him to Indra, who referred him to the Ashvinau (two Ashvins,) who said to him, “Praise Uṣhas (the Dawn), and we set thee free.” Thus he praised Uṣhas with three verses. “While each verse was delivered, his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra’s belly grew smaller, and when the last verse was said his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra well again.” With this result the priests were so well satisfied that they were content to act for the day under the direction of Shunahshépha. He invented the ceremony called the Anjaḥsava. “Afterwards he carried out all the things belonging to the Avabṛitha ceremony, employing two verses, and made Harishchandra go to the A’shavaníya fire with another hymn.” What followed requires particular attention. “When the sacrifice had thus

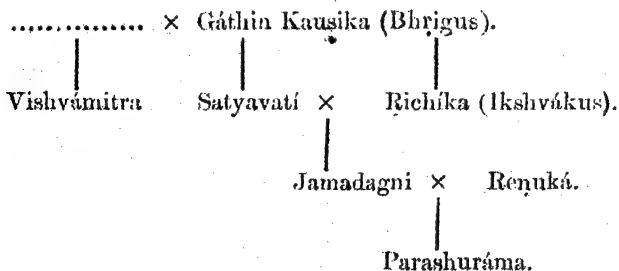
* Dr. Müller renders this by the equivalent Bráhmaṇ, which word, unless when otherwise used in the Sanskrit authorities, it may be proper to reserve for the designation of the caste so called.

been performed Shunahshépha sat down on the lap of Vishvámitra [in furtherance of his adoption as his son]. Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa said : ‘ Rishi, give me back my son.’ Vishvámitra said, ‘ No ; for the gods have given him to me.’ He became Devaráta (Theodotus) the son of Vishvámitra ; and the members of the families of Kapila and Bábhru became his relations. Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa, said : ‘ Come thou, O son, we, both and thy mother call thee away.’ Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa, said : ‘ Thou art by birth an Angirasa, the son of Ajigarta, celebrated as a poet. O Rishi, go not away from the line of thy grandfather, come back to me.’ Shunahshépha replied, ‘ They have seen thee with a knife in thy hand, a thing that men have never found even amongst *Shúdras* ; thou hast taken three hundred cows for me, O Angiras.’ Ajígarta, the son of Súyavasa, said : ‘ My old son it grieves me for the wrong that I have done ; I throw it away, may these hundred cows belong to thee.’ Shunahshépha replied : ‘ Who once commits a sin will commit also another sin ; thou wilt not abstain from the ways of *Shúdras* ; what thou hast committed cannot be redressed. “ Cannot be redressed,” Vishvámitra repeated. “ Dreadful stood the son of Súyavasa when he went to kill with his knife. Be not his son, come and be my son.” “ Shunahshépha said : ‘ Tell us thyself, *O son of a king, thus as thou art known to us, how I, who am an A'ngirasa, shall become thy son.*’ Vishvámitra replied : ‘ Thou shalt be the eldest of my sons, thy offspring shall be the first, thou shalt receive the heritage which the gods have given me, thus I address thee.’ Shunahshépha replied : ‘ May the leader of the Bharatas say so, in the presence of his

agreeing sons, for friendship's and happiness's sake, that I shall become thy son.' Then Vishvámitra addressed his sons: 'Hear me, Madhuchhandas, Rishabha, Rénu, Ashtaka, and all ye brothers that you are, believe in seniority.' This Vishvámitra had a hundred sons, fifty older than Madhuchhandas, and fifty younger. The elder did not like this, and Vishvámitra pronounced a curse upon them, that they should become outcastes. They became *Andhras*, *Pundras*, *Shabaras*, *Pulindas*, *Mutibas* and many other outcaste tribes, so that the descendants of Vishvámitra became the worst of the *Dasyus*. But Madhuchhandas, together with the other-fifty sons, said: 'What our father tells us, in that we abide; we place thee before us and follow thee.' When Vishvámitra heard this, he praised his sons and said: 'You sons will have good children and cattle, because you have accepted my will, and have made me rich in brave sons. You, descendants of Gáthín,* are to be honoured by all, you brave sons, led by Devaráta; he will be to you good counsel. You, descendants of Kúsika, follow Devaráta, he is your hero, he will give you my riches, and whatever knowledge I possess. You are wise, all

* Purúravas.

Jahnu.



ye sons of Vishvámित्रा together; you are rich, you stood to uphold Devaráta, and to make him your eldest descendants of Gáthín. Devaráta* (Shunahshépha) is mentioned as a Rishi of both families, in the chieftdom of the Jahnu, and in the divine Véda of the Gáthins.'†

* "This last verse, which is also attributed to Vishvámित्रा, ought to be taken rather as a recapitulation of the whole story. Jahnu is one of the uncestors of Vishvámित्रा, belonging to the lunar Dynasty; Gáthín is considered as Vishvámित्रा's father. The commentator gives Jahnu as a Rishi of the family of Ajígarta, which seems better to agree with the Vedio story."

† Müller's History of S. L. p. 408-419.

The legend or story of Shunahshepha as here given in the Aitareya Bráhmaṇa has been changed to a considerable extent in later Indian works, as has been summarily noticed by Professor H. H. Wilson. (Rig-Véda, i. pp. 59-60.) "The story of *Shunahshepas*, or as usually written, *Shunahshephas*, has been for some time known to Sanskrit students through the version of it presented in *Rámáyana*, b. i. ch. 61, Schlegel: 63, Gorresio. He is there called the son of the Rishi Richíka, and is sold for a hundred cows by his father to *Ambarísha*, king of *Ayođhyá*, as a victim for a human sacrifice; on the road, he comes to the lake *Pushkara*, where he sees *Vishvámित्रा*, and implores his succour, and learns from him a prayer, by the repetition of which at the stake, *Indra* is induced to come and set him free. It is obvious that this story has been derived from the *Véda*, for *Vishvámित्रा* teaches him, according to Schlegel's text, two *Gáthás*, according to Gorresio's, a *mantra*; but the latter also states, that he propitiated *Indra* by *Richas*; *mantras* of the *Rig-Véda* (*Rigbhis-tushtava devendram*), vol. i. p. 249. *Manu* also alludes to the story (10, 105), where it is said that *Ajígarta* incurred no guilt by giving up his son to be sacrificed, as it was to preserve himself and family from perishing with hunger....The *Bhágavat* follows the *Aitareya* and *Manu*, in terming *Shunahshepas* the son of *Ajígarta*, and names the *Rájá* also *Harischandra*. In the *Vishnu Purána*, he is called the son of *Vishvámित्रा*, and is termed also *Devaráta*, or god-given; but this relates to subsequent occurrences, noticed in like manner by the other authorities, in which he becomes the

The pre-eminence of the Bráhmaṇ to the Kshatriya is here set forth by the alleged greater acceptability to the gods as a sacrifice of a Bráhmaṇ than a Kshatriya; and by the adoption of the Bráhmaṇ, (said to have been set apart for sacrifice) by Vishvámitra. A Bráhmaṇical disparagement of Vishvámitra and his consociates is also intended by the absurd allegation that the aboriginal tribes of the *Andhras*, *Pundras*, *Shabaras*, *Pulindas*, and *Mutibas* were descended from them.* These tribes, belonging principally to the South of India, appear from the notice taken of them, to have been known to the Aryas at the time of the composition of the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa, while they were not as yet gained over to Bráhmaṇism. The *Andhras* were the inhabitants of the province which was afterwards denominated Telingána;† the *Pundras* are supposed to have occupied the Western Provinces of Bengal;‡ the *Shabaras* are placed by Ptolemy near the (mouths of the) Ganges;§ and the *Pulindas* are located by Ptolemy along the banks of the Narmadá to the frontiers of Larice, but in the Indian literature they occur in different positions from the Indus to the South.¶

adopted son of Vishvámitra, and the eldest of all his sons; such of whom as refused to acknowledge his seniority being cursed to become the founders of various barbarian and outcaste races. Vishvámitra's share in the legend may possibly intimate his opposition, and that of some of his disciples, to human sacrifices."

* Compare this with Manu, pp. 43-45. See above pp. 59-60.

† Wilson's V. P. p. 190.

‡ Ib. p. 190.

§ Ptol. Geo. vii. Ed. Berth. p. 205.

¶ Ptol. Geo. vii. Ed. Berth. p. 203. See also Mahábhárata, Bhishma Parva, adh. 6. Cal. Ed. ii. p. 342-344.

The relations of the Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra to sacrifice (*yajna*) and to one another in a religious point of view, are mentioned with particularity towards the conclusion of the seventh panchiká of the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa. "Prajápati," it is there said, "created sacrifice. After the sacrifice was created, the *Brahma* and the *Kshatra* were created. To both the *Brahma* and the *Kshatra* offsprings were created—(called) *hutád* and *ahutád*.* That which was from the Bráhma was called *hutád*, and that which was from the *Kshatra* was called *ahutád*. The Bráhmaṇ was the *hutád* offspring; and the *Rájanya*, the *Vaishya*, and the *Shúdra* belonged to the *ahutád*. By them the sacrifice began to be conducted. The *Brahma* and *Kshatra* came with their instruments. The Bráhmaṇ came with the instruments of the *Brahma*; and the *Kshatriya* came with the sacrificial instruments of the *Kshatra*. The instruments of the *Brahma* were the instruments of the sacrifice, and the instruments of the *Kshatra* were the horse, a chariot, the coat of mail, the arrow and the bow. The *Kshatriya* was not permitted to enter, and seeing that he could not find entrance he returned. The Bráhmaṇs stood to oppose the entrance of others. The Bráhmaṇs came with their instruments. Therefore the sacrifice is established in the Bráhmaṇs. Afterwards the *Kshatriyas* came, and asked to be called for the sacrifice. Then the Bráhmaṇs said to them, 'If you wish to come to the sacrifice, you must put aside your own instruments, and become like Bráhmaṇs, (*brahmanorupéna*) and then

* *Hutád*, (from *huta* and *ád*) means having the legal capacity of eating what is offered in sacrifice, and *ahutád*, not having this capacity.

come to the sacrifice. The Kshatriyas said, 'Be it so.' After putting aside their own instruments, and taking the instruments of the Bráhman, they became like Bráhmanas, and entered the sacrifice."* The progress of the professions and pretensions of the professional priesthood, and their ultimate establishment of their peculiar privileges are evident from this passage. The Bráhmanas, it teaches, were acting in their own peculiar character when they conducted sacrifice, while the Kshatriyas when they sacrificed had to lay aside their own recognized character and its emblems, and assume that of the Bráhmanas. The sacrifice is established in the Bráhmanas;† and, with the enlargement and complication of its ritual, the Bráhman is more necessary than ever. Sacrifice is the highest interest (the first created object) of the community; and the Bráhman, the sacrificer, is the head of the community. He has merely to throw difficulties in the way of the Kshatriya's sacrificing, to secure for himself all that his heart can desire. Let a Kshatriya, when he becomes a *yajamāna*, (the institutor of a sacrifice) employ a Bráhman. Let the Bráhman give his blessing to the Kshatriya.‡

This is accompanied, in the Aitáreya Bráhmana, with notices of the manner in which the Bráhman is to conduct the highest rites in behalf of a king at, and after, the ceremonies of his inauguration. But on this matter we may be content with some of the notices taken of it by

* Aitareya Bráhman of R. V. vii. 14. 19.

† यज्ञोत्रहृण्येषु ब्राह्मणेषु प्रतिष्ठितो.

‡ In illustration of these two last remarks, see Ait. Bráh. vii. 53. 4.

the learned and accurate Dr. Goldstücker. In connection with the *Punarabhishéka*, the King is made to say, “ ‘I firmly stand on heaven and earth, I firmly stand on exhaled and inhaled air, I firmly stand on food and drink ; on what is Bráhmaṇ, on what is Kshatriya, on these three worlds stand I firmly.’ He then descends, sits down on the ground with his face towards the East, utters thrice the words, Adoration to what is Bráhmaṇa, and offers a gift to a Bráhmaṇ ; the object of this gift is the obtainment of victory in general, of victory everywhere, of victory over strong and weak enemies and of complete victory ; and his threefold expression of adoration to what is a Bráhmaṇ implies that a kingdom prospers, and has valiant men when it is under the controul of the Bráhmans, and that a valiant son will be born to him.” “ A king for whom these (certain prescribed) libations are made to Indra in the indicated manner becomes free from disease, cannot be injured by enemies, is exempt from poverty, everywhere protected against danger, and thus becomes victorious in all quarters, and after death established in Indra’s heaven.” “ Priests who understand well how to perform the whole rite will raise the king to an exalted position ; those on the contrary who are ignorant of the manner in which it is to be performed, will bring him into perdition.” In connexion with the simple *abhishéka*, Dr. Goldstücker says, “The ceremony having been completed, the king has to make a present to the inaugurating priest, viz. a thousand (Nishkas) of gold, a field and cattle ; but this amount seems merely to constitute a minimum acknowledgment of the exertions of the

priest; for the text of the Aitaréya adds, that they say a king should give innumerable illimited presents, since a king is illimited (in wealth), and they will obtain illimited benefit to himself; and the author of the *Aitar. Br.* seems rather inclined to adopt the latter opinion, for amongst the instances he gives of royal inaugurations which have been performed in this fashion, he does not mention those at which the Bráhmans have received the 'limited' gifts, but tells e. g. that *Adamaya*, the son of Atri, promised to his priests ten thousand elephants and ten thousand female slaves, and gave each of the sons of that priest at the noon-oblation two thousand cows out of a thousand millions; that *Anga* gave his priest eighty-thousand young white horses fit for carrying burdens on their back, etc.; that *Bharata* distributed in *Mashnára* a hundred and seven thousand millions of black elephants with white tusks, and decked with gold etc. etc.* In all this legendry of the Aitaréya Bráhmaṇa of the Rig-Véda, the Bráhman, it must be admitted, occupies a pretty high position.

The position of the Bráhman is not of an humbler character in the *Taittiríya Brahmana*, of the Black Yajur Véda to which we now turn.

In this Bráhmaṇa, the three fundamental A'ryan castes are mentioned in connexion with certain distinctive privileges. Indra is there represented as assuming the form of a Bráhman to carry off an *istika*, or sacrificial brick for the purpose of preventing two sacrificing Rákshasas, *Kála* and *Kanj* (afterwards called the heavenly

* See Goldstücker's Dictionary, Sanskrit and English, under *Abhisheka*.

hounds *Urna* and *Nabha*), from succeeding in their service and getting to heaven (*svarga*). In connexion with the same legend or fable, it thus enjoined: "The *Bráhma*n ought to commence his sacrifice in the *Vasanta Ritu* (or spring season). That season belongs to the *Bráhma*n. Let him sacrifice in his own season, and he becomes a *Brahmavarchas*, endowed with the knowledge of *Brahma*, and that season is the chief..... Let the *Rájanya* sacrifice in the *Grishma* (hot season). *Grishma* is the season of the *Rajanya*. Let him sacrifice in *Grishma*, and he will become an *Indrayavi* (one powerful like *Indra*). Let the *Vaishya* sacrifice in *Shara* (the autumn). *Shara* is the season of the *Vaishya*."* "Let the *Bráhma*n perform the fire sacrifice in the *Gáyatri* measure. The *Gáyatri* measure is the *Bráhma*n's. Each has his own measure for the acquisition. The *Trishtup* (measure) is that of the *Rájanya*.....the *Jagati* is that of the *Vaisya*."† A *Bráhma*n householder returning home from a journey has to sacrifice in the nakshatra of *Rohini*.‡ The *Bráhma*n is spoken of as of the class of the gods, and the *Shúdra* as of that of the *Asuras*, while quarrelling about a skin ;§ and the *Bráhma*n gets the victory by means of a particular mantra. The *Vajapéya*|| sacrifice belongs

* *Taittiriya Bráhma*na, i. 1-2 (author's MS.) See also edition of in *Bib. Ind.* p. 4.

† T. B. i. 1-9. Compare with this, p. 147, above.

‡ T. B. 1-1-10.

§ ब्राह्मणश्च शूद्रश्च चर्मकृतं व्यच्छिते । देव्यै ब्राह्मणः असृष्ये शूद्रः *Taittiriya Bráhma*na, 1. 2. 6.

|| Fermentation of bread and water. *Wilson's S. Dictionary.*

both to the *Bráhmaṇ* and the *Rājanya*.* The *Bráhmaṇ*, endowed like the *Rishi*, has to stir up the sacrificial fire; “for the *Bráhmaṇ* is every divinity.”† Higher elevation than this it is difficult to imagine.

. Social distinctions are mentioned, as in a passage from the *Taittiríya Saṁhitá* already noticed.‡

Some of the gods are viewed individually as the lords of particular interests and classes of men. *Agni* is the lord of food; *Soma* is the king of the king (*rāja rāja-pati*); *Varuṇa* is the emperor of the emperor; *Mitra* is the *kshatrapati* of the *kshatra*; § *Indra* is the might of the mighty; *Bṛhaspati* is the *Brahmapati* of the *Brahma*; *Savitá* is the *Ráshtrapati* of the *Ráshtra*; *Púsha* is the *Vitpati* of the *Visha*; *Sarasvatí* is the *pushti-patnī* (mistress) of the *pushti*; *Tvaṣṭā* is the former of the pairs of beasts.||

In a remarkable chapter of this *Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa* (iii. 80), the parties of the *Purusha Médha* are mentioned, (with variants) as in the thirtieth chapter of the *White Yajur Véda*.¶

* T. B. i. 3. 3.

† ब्राह्मण अविष्य उद्धरेत् । ब्राह्मणो वै सर्वदेवताः । *Taitt. Brah. i. 4. 4.* Various other things are to be done by the *Bráhmaṇ* in virtue of this divine status. See the context.

‡ *Taitt. Brah. 1. 7. 3.* For the parties, see above, p. 124.

§ *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* are thus addressed a little onwards :—
मित्रोऽसि वरुणोऽसि समहं विश्वेदेवैः । क्षत्रस्य नाभिरसि क्षत्रस्य योनिरसि—
“Thou art *Mitra*; thou art *Varuṇa*, with the *Vishvé-dévas*; thou art the navel of the *Kshatra*; thou art the vulva of the *Kshatra*.” The *Brahma* is called the vulva of the *Kshatra* in T. B. iii. fol. 68.

¶ *Taitt. Brah. ii. 5-7.*

¶ See before, pp. 127-132.

In religious services, the Bráhmaṇ has all the prominence he can desire. "If a goat be not found, then make the Homa at the right hand of the Bráhmaṇ. He is the Vaishvánara (of men the universal) Agni; if the Homa be made upon the Bráhmaṇ's hand, it is as if made by Agni himself."* How different is the position of the Shúdra! In the sacrifice of the Ashvamédha, "The Shúdra has to watch the property; so to a bastard (who is like a Shúdra) there is not the privilege of the abhishéka (or ritual sprinkling.)"† If the Bráhmaṇ acknowledges the splendour of the prince, his own splendour is superior. Wealth and rule do not remain with the Bráhmaṇ; rule remains with the Kshatriya. The Bráhmaṇ is of the form of the day; the Kshatriya is of the form of the night. Let the Brahman perform the religious services (*ishlápurtta*) of the Kshatriya. The Kshatriya should rule. His glory is in war and battle‡ Consider these demands, and yield this homage, and the Bráhmaṇ has all that he can desire.

In the *Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa* of the White Yajur Véda of the Madhyandina Shákha, or Recension, the development of the Caste System is apparent, much as in the two Bráhmaṇas which we have just now noticed.

This work attributes the Collection of the White Yajur Véda to the priest and teacher *Yájñavalkya*, whose alleged decision it holds to be authoritative.§ In a passage to which we have already referred, the *Rákshasas*

* Taitt. Br. iii. MS. fol. 59.

† Taitt. Br. iii. MS. fol. 101.

‡ Taitt. Br. iii. MS. fol. 105.

§ Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa, i. 1. 9 (Weber p. 2) et in al. loc.

are said to derive their designation from their being prohibitors of sacrifice.* *Vishnu* (in the Rig-Véda, the god of the brilliant firmament, or space) is, probably on account of the ascent of the sacrificial flame, called “the sacrifice,”† from which circumstance, certainly, he afterwards received his pre-eminence among the gods, though *Savitá* (the Sun) is in the context called “the generator of the gods,”‡ and *Agni* is in the Védas the god of sacrifice. Ceremonial impurity proceeding, during the celebration of sacrificial rites, from (the touch of) a Carpenter (*Taksha*) or any other sacrificially impure person, is represented as removed by the sprinkling of the sacrificial water.§ Yet even at this time sacrifice seems, in some of its relations at least, to have been available for the *Shúdra*, as brought to notice in a passage which we have already quoted :—“If the sacrificer be a Bráhmaṇ, it is said *Ehi*, Come! If he is a *Vaishya*, then it is *Agahi*, Come hither! With a *Rājanyabandhu* [a transposition of the *Vaishya* and *Rājanya* having occurred], it is *Adrava*, Run hither! With a *Shúdra* it is *Adhava*, Run hither”!|| While the sacri-

* Ib. i. 1. 16.

† यज्ञो वै विष्णु. Shat. Br. i. 1. 2. 13.

‡ सविता वै देवानां प्रसविता. Ib. i. 2. 17.

§ Shat. Br. i. 1. 3. 12. This passage forms a key to the Caste institution of *sparsha*, or defilement by contact. What occurred at sacrifices, at which parties were held to be ceremonially pure or impure, was afterwards extended to what may occur in any circumstances in social life, to the debasement of large classes of the community.

|| Shat. Br. i. 1. 4. 11.

ficial stake (*yúpa*) and rice-stirring instrument (*sphya*) are appropriate to the *Bráhmaṇ*, the chariot and arrow are appropriate to the *Rájanya*.† The *Bráhmaṇ* stands forth as the arranger of sacrifice.† The spring is said to be the season of sacrifice, for the *Bráhmaṇ*; the summer for the *Kshatra*; and the rainy season (*varsha*) for the *Vta*.‡ Of the mystical words prefixed to the *Gáyatrí*, the *Bráhmaṇ* should pronounce the *bhuḥ*; the *Kshatra*, the *bhuvah*; and the *Visha*, the *svah*.§ Indra and Agni are gods of the *Kshatra*, and the *Vishvédevás* of the *Visha*.|| *Bṛihaspati* is the god of the *Bráhmaṇs*.¶ The power of the *Kshatra* is *Varuṇa*.** That of the *Visha* is the *Maruta* (company). In the *Díkshá*, or sacrifice of Initiation, the *Bráhmaṇ*, *Rájanya*, and *Vaishya*, but not the *Shúdra*, may sacrifice.†† The *Rájanya* and the *Vaishya* are after the *Díkshá* pronounced to be sacramentally the same as the *Bráhmaṇ*, sprung from sacrifice.‡‡ The *Bráhmaṇ* is encouraged to desire the work of the forestander, the representative of every *Kshatriya*.§§

In the *Savakāṇḍa* of this *Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa*, there is an important passage which, in connexion with the *Aranyoragni Samarohya* (the sacrificial kindling of fire by friction) brings to notice various classes of the community

* *Shat. Br. i. 2. 4. 2.*

† यज्ञस्य प्रावितारः *Shat. Br. i. 5. 1. 12.*

‡ *Shat. Br. ii. 1. 3. 5.*

§ *Shat. Br. ii. 1. 3. 4.*

|| *Shat. Br. ii. 4. 3. 6.* ¶ *Shat. Br. ii. 5. 2. 36., et. in al. loc.*

** *Shat. Br. v. 1. 1. 11., et. in al. loc.*

†† *Shat. Br. iii. 1. 2. 10.*

‡‡ *Shat. Br. iii. 2. 1. 10.*

§§ ब्राह्मणः सर्वस्येव क्षत्रियस्य पुरोधो कामयेत. *Sh. Br. iv. 1. 4. 5.*

much as is done in a portion of the Black Yajur Vēda to which we have already referred.* The parties specified in it are the *Senāni*, the general, whose representative god, in the offering of the prepared rice, is said to be Agni; the *Purohita*, or family priest, whose god is Brihaspati, the “Purohita of the gods;” the *Kshatra*, whose god is Indra; the *Mahishī*, “the chief wife of an anointed king” according to Śāyana A’chārya, whose god is A’ditya; the *Sūta*, or Charioteer, whose god is Varuṇa; the *Grāmaṇi*, the equivalent of the *Visha*, whose god is the Maruta (wind); the *Kshatta*, or lictor, whose god is Savitā, “the generator of the gods”; the *Sangrahita*, whom we have already supposed to be the treasurer, but whom Śāyana makes a charioteer, whose deities are the two Ashvins; the *Bhāgudugha*, or collector, whose deity is Pūṣha, the nourishing sun; the *Akshavāpa*, or superintendent of the dice, whose god is Rudra; and the *Palāgala*, (who has not yet occurred), said by A’pastamba to be the chief ambassador; and the *Parivritti*, or wife without a son.† These parties are obviously principally those in public offices, though they include the primitive sacrificial castes.

The sacrificial castes are, in the same section of the Brāhmaṇa, represented as performing their sprinklings with different trees. The *Brāhmaṇ* takes the Palāsha (*Butea frondosa*); the *Rājanya*, the Nyagrodha (*Ficus Indica*); and the *Vaishya*, the Ashvattha (*Ficus religiosa*).‡ The

* See above, p. 124.

† Shat. Br. v. 2. 4. 12, et. seq. Weber, pp. 444-447; 487-8.

‡ Shat. Br. v. 3. 2. 11, et. seq. p. 455. Other class distinctions are mentioned in the context. See pp. 457, 460, 465, 503, 569, 723.

multiplication of distinctions in every religious act and ceremony seems to have been early an aim of the Indians. In the same section also, it is said, "There are four Castes (Varnas), the *Bráhmaṇa*, *Rájanya*, *Vaiśhya*, and *Shúdra*, not one of whom there is that vomits the Soma."* The mention here of the *Shúdra* shows, as in a passage already quoted,† that, in a certain form at least, the *Shúdra*, though probably not a personal sacrificer, was a participant in the potable or edible material of sacrifice and its supposed spiritual fruits.

In the eighth section of this *Bráhmaṇa*, a *Rájanya*, who belonged to the province of Gandhára, to the south of the Kábul affluent of the Indus, is thus brought to notice. "Further Svarjit, son of Nagnajit said. Now Nagnajit was a Gándhára. ... This which he said, he spake as a mere *Rájanya*."‡ On this passage it is rightly remarked by Mr. Muir, that "although his (Svarjit's) view (respecting breath or life) was not regarded as authoritative, still the very fact of its being quoted, and its author mentioned as a *Rájanya*, proves his Arian origin."§

In the thirteenth Kánda, in which the grand sacrifices and distribution of enormous dakshiná by several kings are alluded to, verses are quoted in which both "five classes of men" (*pancha mānava*) and "seven classes of men" (*sapta mānava*) are alluded to. || These Pentads and Heptads naturally bring to notice what is said in the Vēda of the *Panchakshiti*.¶ Weber thinks that the Pentad

* Shat. Br.

† See above, p. v. 5. 4. 9.

‡ Shat Br. viii. 1. 4. 10.

§ Muir's Texts, ii. p. 366.

|| Shat. Br. xiii. 3. 6. 14. and 23. Weber, p. 995-6.

¶ See above, pp. 116-17.

refers to the Panchálas, often mentioned (and supposed by Roth to be the five races of the Panjáb) and the Heptad to the Kurus and Panchálas†

An important passage, in this Shatapatha Bráhmāna, corresponding with the Vṛihad A'ranyaka Upaniṣhad, will be noticed onwards. But before leaving this Bráhmāna we may, turning back, refer to two notices, somewhat of a historical character, which it contains, and which are quite consistent with statements made in the commencement of this section of our work.

In the first Kāṇḍa there is an account of a Deluge, similar in some respects to that brought to notice in holy writ, which seems to indicate that the Hindus had a tradition of having crossed a great mountain chain on their originally coming to India. This remarkable passage, which has been translated by Weber,* Müller,† and Muir,‡ is as follows:—"They brought to Manu in the morning water for washing, as they are in the habit of bringing water to wash with the hands. As he was using the water, there came into his hands a fish which said to him, 'Preserve me and I will save thee.' [Manu inquired] 'From what will thou save me'? [The fish replied] 'A flood shall sweep away all these creatures; I will rescue thee from it.' [Manu asked] 'How is thy protection' [to be effected?] The fish answered, 'So long as we are small, we are in great peril, and even fish devours fish; preserve

† See Note in Muir's Texts i. pp. 135-6, and Weber's Indische Studien i. 200.

* Indische Studien, i. 163-164.

† History of A. S. Literature, p. 425, et. seq.

‡ Sanskrit Texts, ii. p. 325-7.

me first in a jar. When I grow too large for the jar, dig a trench, and preserve me in it. When I become too great for that, carry me to the ocean; I shall then be beyond the reach of danger.' Straightway it became a great fish; for it grew exceedingly. [The fish then said,] 'In so many years the flood will come, make a ship therefore, and worship me; and when the flood rises embark on the ship, and I shall deliver thee.' Accordingly Manu preserved the fish, and brought it to the ocean; and in the same year which the fish had declared, he built a ship and worshipped [the fish]. When the flood ascended, he entered the ship, and the fish swam near him: and he fastened the cable of the ship to the fish's horn. By this means he passed over this northern mountain. The fish then said, 'I have delivered thee, fasten the ship to a tree.' But lest the water should abandon thee when thou art upon the mountain, as fast as the water subsides, so fast shalt thou descend along with it. Accordingly he descended as the water subsided. Hence, this was 'Manu's descent' from the northern mountain. The flood had swept away all creatures; Manu alone was left. Being desirous of offspring he laboriously performed a religious rite. And there, too, he sacrificed with the páka sacrifice. He cast clarified butter, thickened milk, whey, and curds, as an oblation into the waters. After a year a female was produced, who rose unctuous from the waters, with clarified butter under her feet. Mitra and Varuṇa met her, and said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Manu's daughter,' she replied. They rejoined, 'Say that thou art our daughter.' She answered, 'No; I am the daughter of him who begot me.' Then they demanded a share in her. She promised, and she did not

promise ; but passed on and came to Manu. Manu asked her ‘Who art thou?’ ‘Thy daughter,’ she replied. ‘Now, thou divine one, art thou my daughter?’ he inquired. She replied, ‘Thou hast begotten me from these oblations which thou didst cast into the waters. I am a benediction. Introduce me at the sacrifice. If thou shalt do so, thou shalt increase in offspring and cattle. Whatever boon thou shalt supplicate through me, shall accrue to thee.’ He accordingly introduced her in the middle of the sacrifice ; for that is the middle which stands between the introductory and concluding prayers. He lived with her worshipping and toiling, desirous of offspring. By her he begot this offspring, which is the offspring of Manu.”* This legend appears here in a much more simple form than it does in the Mahábhárata, Matsya Purána, or any of the other works of the later literature of the Hindus. Next to the references to the *Uttara* (northern) *Kurus*, it is the most important tradition known to the Indians respecting their acquaintance with the north. These *Kurus*, often referred to by the Bráhmans in conversation, are brought to notice both in a geographical and mythical form in the Indian literature. The oldest reference to them occurs in the following passage of the *Aitaréya Bráhmana*: “Wherefore in this northern region, all the people who dwell beyond the Himavat, the *Uttara Kurus*, and the *Uttara Madras*, are consecrated to separate rule (*vairájya*).”† In another passage of the same work, they are spoken of as “the land of the gods (*déva-kshétram*),” of

* Muir’s Texts, ii. pp. 325-7.

† Ait. Bráh. viii. 14. This passage was brought to notice by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 218.

which it is added, "no mortal may conquer it."* Other allusions to them occur in the *Rámáyana*,† *Mahábhárata*, etc. Ptolemy, too, speaks of a mountain and city called *Ottorokorra*,‡ which must be referred to them. The sanctity of this region in the eyes of the Hindus probably originated in the respect felt for it as an early seat of at least a branch of the A'ryan people.§

We find the following remarkable passage, also near the commencement of this *Bráhmaṇa* (first brought to notice by Dr. Weber),|| referring to the advance of the A'ryas and the spread of their religious rites from the river *Sarasvatí* in an easterly direction :—"Máthava the *Vidégha*¶ bore *Agni Vaishvánara* in his mouth. The *Rishi Gotama Rahúgaṇa*** was his priest (*purohita*). Though addressed by him he (*Máthava*) did not answer, 'lest (he said) *Agni* (Fire) should escape from my mouth.' The priest began to invoke *Agni* with verses of the *Rik* : 'We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise *Agni*, the sacrificer, the luminous, the mighty, O *Vidégha*.' (R. V. v. 26. 3.) He made no answer. (The priest then repeated,) 'Thy bright, brilliant, flaming beams and rays mount upwards, O *Agni*, O *Vidégha*.' (R. V. viii. 44. 16.) Still he made no

* Ait. Brah. viii. 23.

† Rám. iv. 44. 82. Mahábh. i. v. 4719-22. *Vishnu Purána*, p. 168.

‡ Ptol. Geo. vi. 16.

§ See on the *Uttara Kurus*, Lassen's *Ind. Altherthumskunde*, i. 511-12; *Zeitschrift für die K. D. M.* ii. 62; and *Muir's Texts*, ii. 332-37.

|| *Indische Studien*, i. 170.

¶ "Afterwards prakritized to *Vidéha*?"

** See R. V. i. 78. 5.

reply. (The priest then recited ;) 'Thee, O dropper of butter, we invoke,' &c. (R. V. v. 26. 2.) So far he uttered; when immediately on the mention of butter (ghṛita), Agni Vaishvánara flashed forth from his mouth; he could not restrain him, so he issued from his mouth, and fell down to this earth. The Vidégħa Máthava was then on (or in) the Sarasvatí. (Agni) then traversed this earth, burning towards the east. Gotama Rāhúgaṇa and the Vidégħa Máthava followed after him as he burned onward. He burnt across all these rivers; but he did not burn across the Sadáníra, which descends from the northern mountain (the Himálaya). The Bráhmans formerly did not use to cross this river, because it had not been burnt across by Agni Vaishvánara. But now many Bráhmans (live) to the east of it. It used to be uninhabitable, and swampy, being untasted by Agni Vaishvánara. It is now, however, habitable; for Bráhmans have caused it to be tasted by sacrifices. In the end of summer this river is, as it were, incensed, being still cold, not having been burnt across by Agni Vaishvánara. The Vidégħa Máthava spake; 'Where shall I abide?' (Agni) replied, 'Thy abode (shall be) to the east of this (river). This stream is even now the boundary of the Kosálas and Vidéhas; for they are the descendants of Máthava.'* The river Sadánírá here mentioned is not identified; but the spread of the Aryan faith eastward from the Sarasvatí, one of its early seats in India, is certainly made obvious by this somewhat figurative narrative.†

* Shat. Br. i. 4. 1. 10, et. seq.

† See on its precise import, Weber in loc. cit. and Muir, ii. 419-422.

Notices somewhat similar to those now introduced from the Aitaréya, Taittiríya, and Shatapatha⁸ Bráhmaṇas, may possibly be found to some extent in the less important Bráhmaṇas. Dr. Weber considers the *Shadvinsha Bráhmaṇa* as having a “distinctly formed Brahmanical character, indicating a not very early date.” The following passage in it is referred to by Dr. Weber and Mr. Muir: “Indra declared the *uktha* (recited hymn) to Vishvámitra [the Rájanya said to have attained to Bráhmanhood], and the *Brahma* (sacrificial knowledge) to Vasishṭha [originally a Bráhman];—the *uktha*, which is speech, to Vishvámitra, and the *Brahma*, which is mental, to Vasishṭha.” The object of this is evidently to qualify the effects of the acknowledged transition of Vishvámitra to the priesthood—an admission always felt to be awkward by the supporters of Caste; for it is added, “Hence this *brahma* belongs to the Vasishṭhas. Moreover, let a descendant of Vasishṭha, who is acquainted with it, be appointed *Brahmá*.”* The *Gopatha Bráhmaṇa* deals with the ritual of the Atharvas of the fourth Veda, in which Bráhmanism, though in a sectarian form, is conspicuously dominant.† It even derives its ideal of the Creator from Atharvan.‡

3. From the Bráhmaṇas, we proceed to the *A'ranyakas* (Discourses of the Forest) and *Upanishads*, (Discourses to

* See Weber's *Indische Studien* (i. 36-39) and Muir's *Texts* (i. 79) on the *Shadvinsha*.

† The MSS. of this Bráhmaṇa are extremely rare. I have just heard of one having fallen into the hands of Dr. Haug at Puná as this passes through the press.

‡ See *Hist. of A. Sans. Lit.* by Dr. Max Müller, p. 451.

Near-Sitters)* which are closely connected together. The oldest of these works, speaking generally, represent the speculative thought of India, in the ages immediately posterior to those of the Bráhmaṇas, and in after times. Some of them, however, like the *Vṛihad* (or *Bṛihad*) *A'raryaka Upaniṣhad*, which is mostly written in the name of Yama-vaikya, and finds a place at the end of the Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa (also attributed to that famous teacher) may be of the same age as that work. Their philosophical character confers a peculiar value on their brief references to the social state of the ancient Indians, although these references are often of a constrictive character, founded on the desire of their authors to uphold the doctrine of spiritual pantheism (that of the universality and identity of Brahma, viewed not as religious service but as its object and the

* The great commentator Shankara A'charya views *Upaniṣhad* as equivalent to *Annihilator*. In his introduction to the *Bṛihad A'raryaka Upaniṣhad*, he writes thus: "The dawn is the head of the sacrificial horse' [the name of this *A'raryaka* derived from its first words] is composed for the sake of those who wish to liberate themselves from the world, in order that they may acquire the knowledge that Brahma [here used not in the Védic sense of religious service but the Spirit to whom this brahma is directed] and the soul are the same, a knowledge by which the liberation from the cause of the world (ignorance) is accomplished. The world is accomplished. This knowledge of Brahma is called *Upaniṣhad*, because it completely annihilates the [essential reality of] the world, together with its cause in such as possess this knowledge; for this is the meaning of the word *Sad*, (to destroy or to go) preceded by *Upa* (quasi, *upa* near and *ni*, certainly). A work which treats of the same knowledge is called *Upaniṣhad*." Rör's Trans. of Br. Ar. Up. p. 1. Dr. Max Müller, with more correct philological appreciation, shows that *up* + *sad* is used "in the sense of sitting and worshipping." Hist. of A. S. Lit. p. 318.

object of the contemplation of the wise), for the support of which they have evidently been composed.*

From the Bṛihad (or Vṛihad) Aranyaka Upaniṣhad we take the following notices:—

“Brahma verily was this before, one alone. Being one, he did not extend. He with concentrated power created the Kshatra of elevated nature, viz., all those Kshatras who are protectors among the gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Death, and Ishāna. Therefore none is greater than the Kshatra; therefore the Brāhman under the Kshatriya, worships at the Rājasūya ceremony. The Kshatra alone gives (him) his glory. Brahma is thus the birth-place of the Kshatra. Therefore although the king obtains the highest dignity, he at last takes refuge in the Brahma as in his birth-place. Whosoever despises him, he destroys his birth-place. He is a very great sinner, like a man who injures a superior. He did not extend. He created the Viṭ. He is all those gods who, according to their classes, are called Vasus, Rudras, A'dityas, Vish-védēvas, and Maruts. He did not extend. He created the caste of the Shúdras as the nourisher. This (earth) is the nourisher; for it nourishes all this whatsoever. He did not extend; he created with concentrated power justice of eminent nature. This justice is the preserver (Kshatra)

* Shankara A'chārya says, “The knowledge of the identity of Brahma [in all forms] is the certain meaning of the Upaniṣhads in all the Shákhas.” Rörer's Trans. of B. A. U., p. 107. Seeking a Vedic support, the Upaniṣhads found much on a few expressions contained in some of the later Sūktas, such as that attributed to the God Indra by Vānadeva, in which he says, “I was Manu, I am the Sun.” See on this and similar expressions of the Vēda, Author's India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 76.

of the Kshatra. There is nought higher than justice. Even the weak is confident to defeat the more powerful by justice, as (a householder) by the king. Verily justice is true. Therefore they say of a person who speaks the truth, he speaks justice, or of a person who speaks justice, he speaks the truth. In this manner verily it is both. This is the creation of the Bramha, the Kshatra, the Viṭ, and the Shúdra. He was in the form of Agni (fire) among the Gods as Brahma, he was the Bráhmaṇ among men, in the form of Kshatriya Kshatriya, in the form of Vaishya Vaishya, in the form of Shúdra Shúdra. Therefore among the gods the place (loka) is desired through Agni only; among men through the Bráhmaṇ, because in their forms Bramha became (manifest).”* The *Kshatra*, the *Brahma*, the *Viṭ*, and the *Shúdra* are here alike considered the positive creations of Brahma (now used in a new sense. Care, however, is taken that by this view of matters, the *Bráhmaṇ* shall not be disparaged, the *Kshatra* at last taking refuge in the *Brahma* as his birth-place. The Shúdra (a partial etymological reference being made to the first syllable of the name) is here viewed as the nourisher; but he is still the lowest in the scale: “He (Brahma) was in the form of Agni among the gods as Brahma; he was the Bráhmaṇ among men; in the form of Kshatriya, Kshatriya; in the form of Vaishya, Vaishya; in the form of Shúdra, Shúdra.” This doctrine

* This is the accurate translation of Dr. Röer (p. 121-5). For “he did not extend,” it might an improvement to say, “He did not separate, or multiply,” the original being स न व्यभक्त. The passage occurs in the Vṛihād Ar. Up. i. 4 and in the Shatapatha Brah. xiv. 4. 2. 23. p. 1052 in Weber’s edition.

Shankara A'charya does not fail to turn to account: "Among men the place, the effect of works, is desired through the nature of the Bráhma alone, because Brahma, the creator, 'in their forms,' of the Bráhma and Agni, the forms upon which the agents of work are dependent, 'became manifest.' "*"

"It verily goes against the grain that a Bráhma should approach a Kshatriya for the purpose of learning Brahma from him." These words are doubtless put by a Bráhma into the mouth of Ajátshatru, "king of Káshí," when he is represented as instructing "Gárgya, the proud son of Baláká."†

"O Matrèyí, said Yájnavalkya (to his wife), behold, I am desirous of raising myself from the order, therefore let me divide (my property) between thee and Katyáyani here."‡ Here Yájnavalkya desires to leave his *áshrama* of Householder for that of a Sannyási. The orders, afterwards spoken of by Manu,§ are here recognized. They are also brought to notice in the following passage, which teaches that the mendicant and meditative life is preferable to that of parties following the course of the world. "Then asked him (Yájnavalkya) Kahola, the son of Kushítaka,—Yájnavalkya, do explain to me that Brahma, who is a witness and present that soul which is within every (being)." "It is thy soul which is within every being." "It is the soul which conquers hunger, thirst, grief, delusion, old age, (and) death. When Bráhmans know this soul, then elevating themselves from the desire of obtaining a son,

* Röer's Trans. of Vṛihad A'ran. Up. p. 125.

† lb. p. 172.

‡ lb. p. 177.

§ See above, p. 27-35.

from the desire of wealth, and from the desire of gaining the worlds (above), they lead the life of wandering mendicants; for the desire of action is also the desire for wealth (to perform rites); the desire for wealth is also the desire for the worlds; for even both are desires. Therefore knowing wisdom let the Bráhmaṇ (the student of Bráhma) arm himself with strength.”* It is afterwards added, “Whoever knowing this indestructible [being] departs from this world, O Gargi, is a (true) Bráhmaṇ.”†

In the fourth Kāṇḍa of the work before us, it is said that Yājñavalkya was offered, at every illustrative story which he repeated, “a thousand cows big as elephants,” by Janaka king of Vidéha. His uniform reply was, “My father admonished me, where one does not instruct, one should not take (gifts).”‡ The Bráhmaṇs, in the time of the Law-Books, demanded gifts from Kshatriyas and Vaishyas without service, and taught that their free bestowment on the priestly caste was meritorious.§ In the same Kāṇḍa, (and of Purusha, or Soul, in a certain state of abstraction), it is said, “The murderer of a Bráhmaṇ is no Bráhmaṇ; the Chāṇḍála is no Chāṇḍála, the Paulkasa no Paulkasa, the religious mendicant (Śrámaṇa) no religious mendicant; the ascetic, no ascetic; he is unconnected with all that is holy, he is unconnected with sin.” This freedom from sin is afterwards attributed to the party possessed of

* Brihad Ar. Up. iii. 5. Roer's Trans. p. 196-197.

† Ib. p. 204.

‡ Ib. 213 et seq. On another occasion, Janaka is represented as saying to his teacher, “I bow to thee; let this kingdom of the Videhas and this myself be thine.” Ib. p. 219.

§ See above, pp. 17, 26, etc.

the knowledge of Brahma.* The Paulkasa and Chāṇḍāla have already occurred, in the Puruṣha Médha.† All offensiveness in them and all præ-eminence in others, it is insinuated, vanishes from the view of the knower of Brahma. The principle here involved, as the teaching goes, is of general application. “The Brahma should disown a person, who considers the Brahma (caste) as something different from his (self); the Kshatra should disown a person, who considers the Kshatra (caste) as something from (his) self; the world should disown a person who considers the world as something different from (his) self.”‡ That there was some novelty in this pantheistic and anti-védic teaching was admitted: “That this knowledge in former times was not possessed by a Bráhmaṇ (thou knowest thyself), but I will explain it to thee.”§ It was, generally speaking, not reduced to practice in society, the Indian speculatists preferring unnatural accommodations to the ancient literature and ritual of the country to the setting themselves forth as distinct and marked reformers.

In the *Chhândogya Upanishad*, associated with the Sáma Véda,—a portion of which agrees with the Bríhad A’ranyaka Upanishad,|| and which may consequently be supposed to be somewhat connected with it in time,—we find a certain kind of scrupulosity as to food brought to notice. “Uṣhashti, son of Chakra who had forsaken Kuru

* Ib. pp. 228, 241.

† See above, pp. 131-2.

‡ Ib. p. 243-4.

§ Ib. p. 263.

|| Bríhad Aranyaka Upanishad, vi. 2 seq.—(with the modification of some words) Chhand. Up. v. 3-10. See Róer’s Trans. of Br. Ar. Up. p. 261.

with his wife lived in great distress in Ibhyagrāma (the village of an elephant driver). Of the elephant-keeper eating some *Kulmāṣha* (a coarse bean) he begged (food). He (the elephant-keeper) said, 'I have nothing but what you see before me.' 'Give me of it,' said he. He gave him of it, and offered him some drink. 'Were I (he said) to take that, I should swallow the remnant of another's drink.' 'Is not that also [the beans] a remnant?' 'I cannot live without eating that; but drink I can command at pleasure.' Having ate thereof, he presented the remainder to his wife. She had before partaken of the same, and [therefore] took it and laid it by. On the morning, rising from his bed, he exclaimed, 'Alas, if I could obtain a little food, I could earn some wealth. A king is sacrificing in the neighbourhood, he would surely employ me to perform all his functions.' His wife said to him, 'Here are the beans, (take them,) and eating of them go quickly to the sacrifice.'* Hunger is here made the excuse for eating the coarse provisions of a man of lower grade, while the drinking of his water, for which an excuse was not readily forthcoming, is avoided. The scrupulosity indicated seems to have had principally in view the preservation of status, which was really the aim of many subsequent caste regulations. A microscopic view of gradations, and supposed degradations connected with them, was soon taken by the Indians. In this same Upaniṣhad, the birth of the Chāṇḍāla follows that of dogs and swine, though it resolves them all into Brahma himself.†

* Chhánd. Up. (Bib. Ind.) i. 10, p. 80, et seq. and Rájendralál's Trans. pp. 27-28.

† Chhánd. Up. v. 10. (p. 356).

Little is to be found bearing on our subject in the older Minor Upanishads.

In the *Taittirīya Upanishad*, which forms a portion of the Taittirīya A'raṇyaka of the Black Yajur-Véda (chapters 7-9,) and which is also found in the collection of the Upanishads of the Atharva Véda*,—the following passage, which forms a key to the limited respect paid by the followers of the Upanishads to the gods, forefathers, relatives, teachers, Bráhmans, etc., occurs :—“Let there be no neglect of the duties towards the gods and the forefathers. Let the mother be a god (to thee). Let the father be a god (to thee). All unblameable works ought to be performed—not any other. All the praiseworthy doings of us (the teachers) ought to be respected by thee—not any others. The Bráhmans who are better than we, it ought to be thy effort to provide with a seat.” “Then,” “as there (in thy neighbourhood) all the Bráhmans, who are of sober judgment,—who are meek and desirous of performing their duties,—whether they act by themselves or be appointed by another,—as such Bráhmans act among them, so also act thou among them.”† All this is by way of “accommodation.” “The Upanishads,” as Dr. Röer correctly says, “acknowledge the gods of the Védas in name [and the same remark is applicable to the distinctions among men], but not in reality ; for their whole nature is altered, since from the state of divinity they are degraded to beings of an inferior order.”‡ They are recognized only as

* See Translation of Taittirīya, etc. by Dr. Roth. 1 i.

† Tait. Up. Shikshā Vallī, An. xi. Röer, pp. 13-14.

‡ Introduction to Taitt. Up. p. 7.

manifestations in finity of the infinite—the Supreme Self. “The Vedānta (the more orthodox system of the Upanishads),” Dr. Röer correctly adds, in another place, “also maintained that the acquisition of truth is independent of caste or any other distinction, and that the highest knowledge which is the chief end of man, cannot be imparted by the Védas; yet it insisted that a knowledge of the Védas was necessary to prepare the mind for the highest knowledge.”* It was by this fictitious deference to the Védas that the supporters of the Vedānta, while in reality superseding these works, conciliated their orthodox friends. The less orthodox schools, as the Sāṅkhya, acted a more independent part, if we except, perhaps, the founder of that school. Dr. Max Müller thus writes:—“Kapila, an atheistic philosopher of the purest water, was tolerated by the Bráhmans, because, however he differed from their theology, he was ready to sign the most important article of their faith—the divine origin and infallibility of scripture.”† But their tenets, as bearing on our subject, we may afterwards notice in connexion with the relations of Buddhism to Caste.

In the *Prashna Upanishad*, the Kshatra (as the power) and the Brahma (as the orderer of rites) are represented as founded on life, or Prajāpati, of whom, it is said, “Thou art a *Vrátya*,”‡ (as a non-initiated Bráhman)—holy by nature, there having been none to perform the

* Introd. to Svétáshavatara Up. p. 36.

† Review of Muir's Text in *Times*, 10th April, 1858.

‡ Prash. Up. ii. 6. 11. *Vrátya* literally means one of the multitude.

rites in thy behalf. In this Upaniṣhad, the Vedānta doctrine scarcely appears in a definite form.

4. We conclude this long section of our work by referring to the *Sūtras*, the last class of the Védic works so-called,—which form a connecting link between the Bráhmaṇas and the Law-Books comprehended under the name of *Smṛiti*, or Remembering.

The *Sūtras* are written generally in the form of brief Memorial Aphorisms, as indicated by their name of *Sūtra* or Thread. Dr. Max Müller makes them range between the years 600—200 before Christ. They glean much from the Védas and the Bráhmaṇas; but it is only in so far as they give a legal form to incidental notices which occur in the older works, and make allusions to written laws and interpretations that they are of much use.

“They contain the quintessence,” Dr. Müller says, “of all the knowledge which the Bráhmans had accumulated during many centuries of study and meditation.”* They are based upon the *Shruti* (comprehending the Vedic hymns and the Bráhmaṇas)†; and, in some instances are on this account called the *Shrauta Sūtras*. Those of them which teach the mode of performing the Védic

* Hist of A. Sans Lit. p. 74.

† Dr. Müller (ib. p. 76) ingeniously says, “The reason why the Bráhmaṇas, which are evidently so much more modern than the Mantras, were allowed to participate in the name of *Shruti*, could only have been because it was from these theological compositions, and not from the simple old poetry of the hymns, that a supposed divine authority could be derived from the greater number of the ambitious claims of the Bráhmans.”

sacrifices are called *Kalpa Sūtras*; and even the Brahmans themselves, such as Kumarila, admit that, though authoritative, they are “composed, by human authors,” “like Mashaka, Baudhāyana, Apastamba, Aśhvalāyana, Katyāyana and others.”* They are to be distinguished from the *Smārta Sūtras*, the *Sūtras of the Smṛiti*, or the *Sūtras of Tradition*, which form the Law Books. Varieties of them are the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, which treat of rites to be performed by householders, principally for the benefit of their families; and the *Sāmāyāchārika Sūtras*, which regulate rites to be performed by individuals on their own account, and the religious services of everyday life.†

The most important of the *Sūtras* to which the public has access are “The *Shrautasūtras* of Kātyāyana, with Extracts from the Commentaries of Karka and Yājñikadēva,” published by the learned and indefatigable Dr. Weber, as the third volume of the text of the White Yajur Vēda and its adjuncts.

In the *Sūtras* now referred to the *Shūdra* is plainly declared not to have the right (*adhikāra*) of sacrifice enjoyed by the *Brāhman*, *Kshatriya*, and *Vaishya*. In support of this dictum, some quotations are made from the *Brāhmaṇas* which we have already introduced. It is then found that the *Shūdra* is not to be invested with the sacred string, and has not, like the higher *Vaṇas*, the right of hearing, committing to memory, or reciting Vēdic texts. For listening to these texts he ought to have his ears shut up with lead or lac, by way of punishment; for pronouncing them, his tongue cut out; and for committing

* Hist. of A. S. Lit. pp. 97-8.

† See Müller, p. 200, etc.

them to memory, his body cut in two.* The *Rathakāra* is somewhat more favoured, as far as his presence at the *ādihāna*, or initial services of sacrifices, is concerned;† and this it is said is owing to the distinction of his employment for a livelihood, and because it is said, “A *Mahishya* is produced by a *Kshatriya* on a female-*Vaishya*; a *Karaṇi* is produced by a *Vaishya* on a female-*Shūdra*; and a *Rathakāra* is produced by a *Mahishya* on a female. *Karaṇi*.” This brings us to the fictional views of the Law-Books.‡ Chiefs of the *Nishādas* have the privilege of offering the boiled seeds of the *Gāvédhuka* (coix barbata) on the occasion of hallowing a new house.§ Of the *Vaishya* and *Rājanya*, it is held that they are not entitled to keep burning the sacred fire *gārhapatī*, or that of a householder, which is the privilege of the *Brāhman*.|| In selecting *Brāhmans* for services, as connected with the nuptial fire, reference must be made to the families which represent the respective *Rishis* to which the Védic texts are said to have been communicated. This the commentary couples with the recognitions of *shākhāntara*, difference in the Branch or School of the ministrant.¶

* शूद्रस्य वेदाक्षर श्रवणे उच्चारणे धारणेच प्रायश्चित्तस्य दर्शनात्. श्रवणे त्रपुञ्जनुभ्यां श्रोत्रपूरणम् उच्चारणे जिह्वाछेदः धारणे च शरीरभेद इति. *Shrautasūtra Kāt.* i. 1. 6. (p. 9).

† *Ib.* i. 1. 9. et seq.

‡ See above, pp. 53, 60, 65.

§ *Shrautasūtras* of *Kāt.* i. 1. 12. (p. 16).

|| *Ib.* i. 6. 16, p. 110.

¶ *Ib.* v. 6. 1, p. 367. See also x. 9. 30, pp. 832-3.

In the *Baudháyana Sūtras* of the Black Yajur Vēda,* we have found several passages worthy of notice.

“The Bráhmans acting as Ritvijes,” it is enjoined, “ought to be perfect in birth, associational lineage (*gotra*), instruction (*shruta*), and conduct, without fault of body, without scar, not addicted to going beyond the fences (of their town), not goes to the *Antyaja* (those of low birth, dwelling beyond the enclosures of towns), not pronouncers of *háléya-váléya* (that is, not of vulgarized speech), having sons and daughters only of regular birth, having no connection with strange women or women found with child at their marriage, not (themselves) posterior in birth, not adopted. The Adhvaryu ought to be of the Angiras (order); the Brahmá of the Vasiṣṭha; the Hotá, of the Vishvámitra; and the Udgátá, of the Kushika.† It is also said by some that the Sadasya (superintending priest) should be of Vasiṣṭha, of Bhṛigu, or of Angiras, right in birth, learning, and conduct.”‡

The institutor of a sacrifice is represented as connecting, in supplicatory transference, robbery with the *Vrátya* and *Shúdra*; labour, with the *Vaishya*; knowledge, with the *Rājanyabandhu*; Brahmácidé, with the *Nisháda*;

* For the use of a MS. of these Sūtras I am indebted to Sadáshiva Bhaṭṭa of Wáí, next to Mahábaleshwar, the highest *tértha* (sacred place of passage) of the Kriṣhna river. These Sūtras derive their name from Baudháyana, their collector and arranger.

† The classes of priests specified are those who take the different parts of the sacrificial rites. See before, p. 102.

‡ Baudháyana Sūtras, Prashna ii. 2. (fol. 19 of MS.) The passage goes on to say that the officiating priests should have no imperfection of body, etc.

paradise (*rodas*), with the Kimpurusha (dwellers in the N. E. mountains), barbarous speech (*mléchha*), with the residents in forests ; repose, with the *Vidéhas* ; the takman (disease) with the *Mujavats* ; * cough, with the *Dundubhas* ; bile, with the *Ikshvákus* ; preparation for sacrifice, with Kalinga (a country contiguous to the sources of the Ganges), and so forth.†

The Mantras to be used respectively by Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Rathakáras, at the *ádhâna* are expressly prescribed.‡ The Chandas, or Metres to be used by the three first of these classes are mentioned as in the Bráhmaṇas.§ The Munja or sacred string of the loins|| of the Bráhman learning the Védas, it is said, should be of the Darbha grass ; and of the *Vaishya*, of the hair of the black antelope.¶

In the *Hiranyakéshí Sûtras*,—with the use of an old manuscript of which I have been kindly favoured by Tâtihya Shâstrî Abhyankara of Wáí,—we have found several curious passages, also bearing on the progress of Caste arrangements.

In one of them, after it is said that the Bráhman, Rájanya, and Vaishya have the *Védádhyaṇa*, or liberty of repeating the Védas, it is added that their sacrifices are established in the Bráhman, because all the sacrifices are not forbidden to him, that is, he has a right to

* See before, p. 141.

† Baudh. Sûtras, ii. 2.

‡ Baudh. Sût. ii. 17.

§ Ib. vi. 13.

|| The Munja is to be distinguished from the string worn over the right shoulder. The period for which the Munja is to be worn is mentioned onwards.

¶ Ib.

perform every *kind* of sacrifice, while the others have not this right. It is also added that the *Rājanya* and *Vaishya* have the privilege of the (daily) Agnihotra and of the ceremonies of the new and full moon, while the *Bráhma*ns alone have the privilege of the Soma sacrifice; and that the *Nisháda* and the *Rathakára* have the privilege of the *ádthána* (initial ceremonies) of the Agnihotra of the new and full moon ceremonies.* In conformity with the dicta of the *Bráhma*ṇas, the Vasanta season is the *ádthán* time of the *Bráhma*ṇ; the Grīṣhma and Hémanta, of the *Rājanya*; the Varshá of the *Rathakára*; and the Sharad, of the *Vaishya*; while the Shishira is common to them all.† Special mantras are prescribed, as in the Baudháyana Sŭtras for these four castes.‡ The horse for the *Ashvamedha* sacrifice, as found suitable, may be brought from the house of a *Bráhma*ṇ, a *Rājanya*, or a *Vaishya*, as the case may be.§ The portion in sacrifice which falls to the institutor of the sacrifice (*Yajantāna*) is to be ate by the *Bráhma*ṇ, but not by the *Rājanya* or the *Vaishya*|| Silence is to be observed by parties of the three sacrificial classes, when a *Shúdra* enters to remove their natural defilements (alluded to with disgusting particularity); and thus the servile position of the *Shúdra* is recognized.¶ The sun is addressed as the

* ब्राह्मण राजन्ययोर्विध्यस्य च वेदाध्ययनं तन्नियतं तेषामेव ब्राह्मणविहितायज्ञा येषु यज्ञ कास्त्रिन्यमविप्रतिषिद्धं... तेषामग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियतौ सोमेज्या ब्राह्मणस्थानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियतौ निषादरथकारयोराक्षानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियम्येते. Hiranyakéshí Sŭtras, iii. 1.

† Ib. iii. 2.

‡ Ib. iii. 3.

§ Ib. iii. 4.

|| Hir. Sŭt. vi. 4.

¶ Hir. Sŭ. x. 1.

Cháraṇa (Bráhmaṇ association), as the Shúdra, and as the A'rya (probably here meaning the Rájanya and the Vaishya).* A Shúdra or A'rya desiring the skin of an animal slain in sacrifice is to receive it from the Agnídhra Bráhmaṇ, separating himself from the sacrificial party by a circle surrounding the sacrificial pit.† In the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, the Niṣháda, as well as the Vaishya, and Rájanya, may three times drink, from an earthen vessel, of the juice of the roots of the Udambara (*Ficus glomerata*), while a Bráhmaṇ has to drink of it only once.‡

The sections from the nineteenth to the twenty-fifth inclusive are in the manuscript in our hands denominated the *Hiranyakéshí Smárta Sūtras*,—a denomination in which their traditional character is recognized, the *Shrauta Sūtras* being more directly founded on the Védic works comprehended under the name of *Shruti* ("what was heard") in ("regular Vedic recitation"). In their commencement, it is intimated that the *Upanayana* (or sacrificial endowment with the string) of a Bráhmaṇ should take place in his seventh year ; that of a Rájanya, in his eleventh ; and that of a Vaishya, in his twelfth. The seasons for this sacrament, in the case of each of these classes, are mentioned as already noted by us on the authority of other works. The ceremonial, in its different particulars, is prescribed. It ought to be performed during the first part of the lunar mansion (nakshatra) Puna. A couple of Bráh-

* Hir. Sū. x. 4.

† Hir. Sū. xvi. 1.

‡ Hir. Su. xvii. 1. It is because the roots of this fig yield a watery juice that it is called the "water-tree" by the natives of India, and not as "being found (as some of our botanists tell us) near springs or water courses."

mans are to be feasted ; the *Punyáha* mantra is to be repeated ; the youth is to be shaved (in the head) and decorated ; the household fires have to be kindled in their respective positions ; the *Darbha* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) has to be scattered around them ; and the articles required for use—the stone, the unwashed (new) clothing, the skin of a deer, etc., the *munja* (or temporary string) three times to circumvent the loins, the rod of the *Belva* (*Ægle marmelos*), or of the *Palásha* (*Butea frondosa*) for the *Bráhma*n, of the *Nagrodha* (*Ficus Indica*) for the *Rájanya*, and the *Udumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*) for the *Vaishya*, the fuel of twenty-one kinds of wood, the frame of wood (to put on each side of the fire pits), the blowpipe, the *Darví* (clarified-butter spoon), the bunch of *Darbha* grass, and the cup for the clarified-butter, are to be put into their places. The sacred fire is to be kindled (for the consumption,) in the *homa* rite, of the fuel and the clarified butter. The sacred thread has to be put over the shoulder of the candidate for initiation ; the *munja* has to be put round the loins ; the mantras have to be repeated by the *Bráhmans*, and taught to the party now initiated by them ; and the youth has to be blessed in varied forms. Clothing has to be given to him according to his caste :—the skin of a black antelope to the *Bráhma*n ; the *raurava* (skin of a common antelope) to the *Rájanya* ; and the skin of a goat to the *Vaishya*. Specified mantras, varied according to caste, have to be repeated by the initiated. *Dakshiná* (douceurs with the right or lucky hand*) are

* On one occasion, when I happened to be walking round one of the *lingálayas* at Elephanta with my left hand towards the quondam object of worship, a *Bráhma*n of the old school, interested in my safety, attempted to put me into the *right* position that I might escape injury !

to be given to Bráhmans.* No symbolical meaning seems associated with the complicated service.†

In the *darvihoma* (burnt offering effected simply by casting butter, etc. into the flame with a ladle), the Bráhma-man's prepared dish (*mantha*) is to be of clarified butter ; the Kshatriyá's, of milk ; the Vaishya's, of whey ; and the Shúdrá's, of water.‡

The twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sections of the Sûtras of Hiranyakéshí are called *Sámayáchárika* or *Dharma Sûtras*, that is Sûtras for regulating conventional practices and duties, viewed as incumbent on individuals, independently of the great ceremonial services.‡

This division of the work sets out with the mention of the four primitive castes, which it says are recognized by the Védas. The investiture with the string, the reading of the Védas, and the keeping of the sacred fire are "fruitless works" for the Shúdra, whose duty is service. Seasons of sacrifice are prescribed for the three first castes (but not for the fourth). The three first classes should, after initiation, spend at least twelve years as students (Brahmácharís), with their A'charya, or religious instruc-

* Hiranyakéshí Sút. xix. 1 et seq.

† Ib. xxiii. 10.

‡ The commencement of the Hiranyakéshí Sámayáchárika Sûtras is the following : अथातः सामयाचारिकान् धर्मान् व्यवस्थाप्यो धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाः—Now-in-what-follows we unfold the conventional practices and duties, the authority (being) the intelligent in conventionalities (and) the Védas. "*Sámayáchárika*" (says Haridatta, as quoted by Müller, Hist. of A. S. p. 101) is derived from *samaya* (*agreement*) and *áchára* (*custom*)......Rules founded upon *samaya* are called *samayácháras*, from which (is) the adjective *samayachárika*.....In our Sûtra, *Dharma* means law."

tor.* The pronoun (of respect) is to be used when the wife of a Bráhmaṇ is addressed; while those of a Rájanya and Vaishya may be mentioned with their bare names.† The Bráhmachári should not enter on the employment of the merchant, or shopkeeper. He should abstain from impure works, such as holding intercourse with Shúdras, forming connections with non-A'ryan women, eating forbidden flesh, drinking urine and fæces, touching the vessel rendered impure by the leavings of a Shúdra or of an A'rya.‡ The Bráhmaṇ who goes to a Kshatriya woman should give a thousand cows or bullocks for an atonement; to a Vaishya woman, a hundred; and to a Shúdra woman, ten. The offending woman is to be banished to the wilderness.§ The Bráhmachári is not to carry arms; but if any person come upon him with intent to kill him, he may use a sword (or any other weapon) at hand.||

After marriage, when the Bráhmaṇ enters into the áshrama of a Householder, his first duty is performing the *sthátipáka*—the dressing rice for the homa, or domestic sacrifice, on the day previous to which he has to dine only once and to abstain from his couch, sleeping on the ground, and afterwards to conduct life in the most ceremonious manner. When he has erected an altar of clay and drawn upon it three lines from East to West and three from North to South, he has to sprinkle water upon it, and to throw away the remainder, partly to the North

* Hir. Sú xxvi. 1. (Prashna i. of Sam. Dh. Sút.)

† Ib. xxvi. 4.

‡ Ib. xxvi. 6.

§ क्षत्रियं गत्वा गवां सहस्रं वैश्यावनार्थे दद्यात् ज्ञानं वैश्य दश शुद्र ऋषभ
श्वावाधिकः Ib. || Ib. xxvi. 7.

and partly to the East. Other rites are to be performed by him according to the principle, that great happiness is to be obtained by each Varna following its own established rites ;* while if the contrary is the case, misery will be the consequence, the *Bráhma*n being born a Chándála, the *Rájanya* a Paulkasa, and the *Vaishya* a Vēṇa. It is added, that the occurrence of *dosha* (or fault) follows the contact, and conversation with, or look at, a Chándála. The atonement for a Bráhma speaking with or touching such a low person is bathing, and for looking at him, the actual viewing of light (as of the sun). The A'ryas (the three higher Varnas) have to make offerings to the Vishvédévas (all the gods); and the Shúdras have to do the same, day after day, making three sips. The hairs of the body (of three kinds) have to be shaved on the eighth and fifteenth days of the month, when water is to be touched. On the arrival of a learned Bráhma, he ought to be seated and fed ; while a Rájanya and Vaishya arriving should only be saluted. If a Shúdra come, he should be fed and set to household work, (the claim for his service being put in force).† The Bráhma, it is taught by tradition (*smartyé*), may read the Védas to Rájanyas and Vaishyas and even serve them when he is in circumstances of difficulty. In ordinary circumstances, he may occupy himself in all kinds of learning, as that of the Upanishads, and interpretation of calamities. Learning and reciting (the Védas), sacrificing for himself and for others, receiving and giving gifts, are the (six) works of a *Bráhma*n. These, with the exception of

* सर्व वर्णानां स्वधर्मानुष्ठाने परमपरिमितं सुखं.

† Hir. Sú. (Sám.) xxvii. 1.

reciting the Védas, sacrificing for others, and receiving gifts, are the works of a *Kshatriya*, who has also those of waging war and ruling. The works of the *Vaishya*, with the exception of waging war and ruling, are those of the *Kshatriya*, with agriculture, keeping of cattle, and engaging in merchandise, added. It is enjoined that those who do not act according to the Institutes should be taken to the prince (*rajanya*), who should punish them according to the decision of learned Bráhmans, avoiding killing and enslaving (*dāsya*) in the case of Bráhmans, though not in the case of the other Castes.* Eight kinds of marriage are sanctioned, as in the Law Books. The benefits of entering the four áshramas, of the Bramácharí, Grihastha, Vánaprastha, and the Parivrāja, and the conduct required in each of these orders, are mentioned much as in the Law Books. The Parivrāja, in the most advanced áshrama, desiring liberation, should lose sight of the distinction between truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, beloved and unbeloved objects, and occupy himself in the desire to have spiritual knowledge and well-being. The Vánaprastha, going into the forests, should aim at the same objects. He should live on roots and fruits, and sleep on the grass. The party who does not desire to live habitually in this state may marry and discharge his household duties. He may still be esteemed a Vánaprastha if he live for a year gleaning in the fields, not using in this interval salt, honey, or flesh, or having more than two vessels, one for cooking and the other for eating.†

The work notices certain matters on the authority of

* Ib. xxvii. 9.

† Ilir. Sám. Sú. xxvii. 15.

Ancient Shlokas, or Shlokas of the Purāṇas,* such as that there have been 88,000 descendants of the Rishis.

The duties of the prince are specified in the eighteenth section, much as in the Law Books. He ought to have at least two counsellors, pure and truthful, and acquainted with the duties of all classes. He ought to be regular in the discharge of his own duties, bearing arms, and having dancing, singing, and music in his own house. He should allow no fear of thieves to be in his country, town, or forest. By giving power (*kshatra*) and wealth to Bráhmans, he will be rewarded in the other world. He should not take the property of Bráhmans. The giving to them of large dakṣhiṇá is equivalent to sacrifice. He ought to appoint brave and good men for the protection of his

* The seventeenth *paṭala* of the twenty-seventh Prashna, commences with these words:— अथ पुराण ओंका उदाहरति. For पुराण, पुराणे occurs in the index at the end. The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa is referred to as an authority in the same *paṭala*:—भविष्यपुराणे यापि प्रजापतेर्वचनं—In the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, there is a saying of Prajapati, etc. Either this portion of the Sūtras must be held to be an interpolation, or their modern origin must be admitted, notwithstanding the fact that they bear the name of Hiranyakéshī. In regard to the word *paṭala*, Dr. Müller (Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 524) thus writes:—“We find that several of the Sūtras are divided into chapters called *paṭalas*. This is a word never used for the subdivisions of the Bráhmaṇas. Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane; it is also used for a tree. If so, it would seem to be almost synonymous with *liber* and *πάλλος*; and it would mean book, after meaning originally a sheet of paper made of the surrounding bark of trees. If writing came in towards the latter half of the Sūtra period, it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and Bráhmaṇas to a written form. Previously to that time, however, we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the Bráhmaṇa literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only.”

people, to keep a city free of the fear of thieves (*taskaras*) for the extent of a *yojana*, and a village for the extent of a *krosha*, and to call upon the people residing in these bounds to make-good the thefts which may occur in them. Taxes (*shulka*) should be raised as imposed, but not taken from parties learned in Vedic works (*shrotriya*), females of any class, young people acquiring knowledge, devotees, Shúdras discharging their duties (they being the property of others?), the blind, the dumb, the deaf, the diseased, and beggars. The youth who without deliberate intention goes to the wife of another person or to a virgin, is to be punished. He who repeatedly does this has to have his member excised, or to be deprived of his property and banished. The A'rya having connection with a Shúdra woman is to be banished; a Shúdra having connection with an A'rya is to be killed. If a person goes to a woman of his own class being the wife of another, he shall have the fourth part of his tongue cut off for the first offence. If he repeat the offence, he shall have his whole tongue cut out. If a Shúdra reproach a dutiful A'rya, or put himself on equality with him on a road, on a couch, or on a seat, he is to be beaten with a stick. For murder, theft, seizing (another's) land, and going to the wife of another, a Shúdra is to be killed, and a Bráhmaṇ to have his eyes extracted.* All this elevates caste to its own summit, as in the Law Books.

* नाश्व्य आर्यः शूद्राया वध्यः शूद्र आर्याया दारं चास्य कर्षयेत् सर्वाया-
मन्यपूर्वाया सकृत्संनिपाते पादः पतनी चतुर्थे सर्वजिह्वाच्छेदनं शूद्रस्यार्थं धार्मिकमाक्रोश-
वतो वाचि पथि शय्यायामासने च समीभवतो दंडताडनं पुरुषवशे स्तेये भूषादाने पर-
दारानुपवेश इति स्नान्यादाय वध्यश्चक्षुर्निरोधस्तेनेषु ब्राह्मणस्य Hir. (Dh.) Sū.
xxvii. 19.

The *Apastamba Sāmāyāchārika Sūtra* and *Dharma Sūtra*, belong to the same Vēda—the Black-Yajur, as those which we have now reviewed. They have been looked at by Dr. Müller, who thus writes of them. “*Apastamba*, in his *Sāmāyāchārika Sūtras*, declares distinctly that there are four Varnas, the Brāhman, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, the Shūdra, but that the initiatory rites, the Upanayana in particular, are only intended for the three first classes. The same is implied, no doubt, in the other Sūtras which give the rules as to the proper time when a young Brāhman, a young Kshatriya, or a young Vaishya should be apprenticed with their spiritual tutors, but never say at what age this or similar ceremonies should be performed for one not belonging to these three Varnas. Yet they never exclude the Shūdra expressly, nor do they represent him as the born slave or client of the other castes. In the *Dharma-sūtras* the social degradation of the Shūdra is as great as in the later Law Books, and the same crime, if committed by a Brāhman and a Shūdra, is visited with very different punishments. Thus if a member of the three Varnas commits adultery with the wife of a Shūdra, he is to be banished; if a Shūdra commits adultery with the wife of a member of the three Varnas, he is to be executed. If a Shūdra abuses an honest member of the three Varnas, his tongue is to be cut out. He is to be flogged for not keeping at a respectful distance. For murder, theft, and pillage the Shūdra is executed; the Brāhman, if caught in the same offences, is only deprived of his eyesight. This is the same iniquitous law, which we find in the later Law Books. But although the distinction between the Shūdras and the other Varnas is so

sharply drawn by A'pastamba, he admits that a Shúdra, if he obeys the law, may be born again as a Vaishya, the Vaishya as a Kshatriya, and the Kshatriya as a Bráhma-
man ; and that a Bráhma-man if he disregards the law, will be born again as a Kshatriya, the Kshatriya as a Vaishya, and the Vaishya as a Shúdra.* This passage contains evidence that the A'pastamba Sámayácháríka and Dharma Sútras of A'pastamba agree, in the matters mentioned, with those of Hiranyakéshí, to which we have above referred. They both exclude the Shúdra from the Upa-
nayana and other rites to which the higher classes have access. Some of the other Sútras do the same thing, which is taught by implication, as noticed by Dr. Müller in all the Vedic Sútras.† The enslavement of the Shúdra, I rather think, is taken for granted by Hiranyakéshí, when he hints at the easy appropriation of him, in the terms we have above referred to.‡ The iniquitous degradation of the Shúdra,—corresponding with that of the Law Books,—is expressed in the same language both by Hiranyakéshí and A'pastamba. It is quite possible, however, from the reference made to the “ Purána Shlokas,” which we have noticed in a portion of the Hiranyakéshí Sútras, that it is a posterior addition made to them, expressly to effect their agreement with the Law Books and other later authorities.§ A'pastamba's reference to a change of

* Hist. of A. S. Lit. p. 207.

† See reference to the Kátayána Shrouta-Sutras, p. 183, above.

‡ See p. 192.

§ Dr. Müller in a note thus draws attention to an instance of direct fraud in a matter of this kind in later times :—“ Apast. i. 6. अशूद्रानामदुष्टकर्मणामुपायनं वेदाध्ययनमग्न्याधेयं फलवन्ति च कर्माणि ॥ शुश्रूषा शूद्र-

places in future births,—the consequence of the full development of the doctrine of the 'metempsychosis'—occurs, in the same words in *Hiranyakéshí*.*

In the *A'shvaláyana Shranta Sūtra*,† associated with the *Rig-Véda*, we have found no passages referring to Caste which are not anticipated by our extracts from the *Bráhmaṇas*, except in so far as the reputed *gotras*, (families) of the *Bráhmaṇas*, and the progenitor *Rishís* recognized by them in the *pravara*, or initial invocation of the god *Agni*, with the names of ancient *Rishis* added, at the consecration of fire, are concerned. These *gotras* and *pravaras*, as found in this *Sūtra* are tabulated by Dr. Müller.‡ We shall afterwards have to notice them

स्तेनरेषा वर्णनि ॥ In later works, such as the *Sanskára-gaṇapāṭi* this *Sūtra* of *A'pastamba*, which excludes the *Śhúdras* from initiation, has been so altered as to admit them. MS. E. I. II. 912, p. 16. अथ शूद्राणामुपनयनं । आपस्तम्बः । शूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपनयनं । मद्ययानरहितानामिति कष्टकरः” ॥—To effect this fraud (if a MS. of the *Mahārishī* was before its author), nothing more was necessary than to overlook the involved but unexpressed, short vowel (*a*) of the preceding word forming the negative. The passage in *Hiranyakéshí* stands thus:—चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय वैश्य शूद्रास्तेषां पूर्वः पूर्वो जन्मतः श्रेयानशूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपनयो वेदाध्ययनमग्न्याभ्येयं फलवन्तिच कर्माणि. (xxvi. 1). All that was necessary for the fraud was to commence the quotation without picking up the negative *a* from *shrēyana* preceding *shúdrāṇām*. The *Śhúdra* initiations, etc. effected by the fraud, notwithstanding, were not to be made by the *Védic* mantras (still confined to the higher *Varnas*) but by what are called the *Náma-mantras*—mantras framed on the principle of the mere recognition of the names of the later gods.

* *Hir. Sú.* xxvii. 10.

† For the copy of these *Sūtras* which we have used, we are indebted to *Bhaṭṭambhaṭṭa Phadaké* of *Wáí*.

‡ *Ilist. of A. S. Lit.* pp. 380-6.

in connexion with the still existing divisions in the Indian Bráhmaṇhood.

The *Grihya Sūtra*,—or Sūtra of Domestic Rites,—of A'shvaláyana, also furnishes us with little material connected with caste. The lowly Chāṇḍála is thus associated with other beings, in the distribution of rice at the Pákayajna (the sacrifice of cooked meats*), resorted to on several domestic occasions:—"Let *anna* be thrown on the ground to dogs, Chāṇḍálas, demons, the fallen, and crows."† Of sacramental ceremonies to be used by the three Varnas, up to the time of initiation, the following are mentioned on the authority of "Upaniṣhads" not otherwise specified:—*Garbhámbhana*, *punsavana*, *anaralobhana*, which are to be performed in the third month of conception; *simantonnyana*, to be performed in the fourth month of conception; *játakarma*, to be performed at birth; *anna-práshana*, to be performed in the sixth month after birth; *chaula*, which ought to be performed in the third year after birth; and the *upanayana*,‡ to be performed in the eighth year after birth in the case of Bráhmans, in the eleventh in the case of Kshatriyas, and the twelfth in the case of Vaishyas, though they may be delayed for double these periods in the respective cases mentioned, at the expiry of which if they be not performed the parties will be reckoned apostates—*patita saritrika* (fallen from the savitrí or sacred gayatrí), and incapacitated for initiation, study, and social intercourse

* Dr. Müller (p. 203) takes *páka* in this word to signify *small* or *good*, as it sometimes does.

† अ चांडालभूत पवित्र गायसंभोजनं भूमौ निक्षिपेत्. A'sh. Grihya Sū. i.

‡ For the meaning of these words, see before, pp. 60-1.

(*vyavaharéyuh*).^{*} In connexion with the return of a youth to his family after the expiry of his pupilage, and the burnt-offering which is then to be made, Agni is to be addressed as having “the *Bráhmaṇ* for his mouth, the *Rájanya* for his arm, the *Vaishya* for his belly, and women for his —.”[†]

^{*} Allied in origin to the *Sútra* now referred to is the *Mánava Kalpa* (Ceremonial) *Sútra*, connected with the Black Yajur Veda, the first four books of which have been lately lithographed under the auspices of Dr. Goldstücker. In this curious and rare fragment we have found but little which bears on caste, while this little has, on other authorities, been mostly anticipated in the preceding pages. The leavings at the Homa, however, it tells us are to be ate and drunk by the *Bráhmaṇ*, and not by the *Rájanya* or *Vaishya*.[‡] The second birth (*deijatra*) is not to be reckoned as effected in the case of *Shúdras*, even when the *Sanskáras* of the *Dvijas* (the *Bráhmaṇ*, *Kshatriya*, and *Vaishya*) are practised by them.[§] Pious *Rájanyas* are recommended to have a continuous *Agnihotra* under the care of a *Ritvija*, for it is the *Bráhmaṇ* who has the (special) privilege of sacrifice. In connexion with this, the commentator (*Kumáрила*) holds that no *Bráhmaṇ* engaged in the occupation of other castes should be employed in the *Agnihotra* (or other sacrificial rites), and quotes in support of this view a dictum (which also occurs in the

^{*} Ash. Gr. *Sú.* i. 12-19.

[†] *Ib.* iii. 8.

[‡] *Mánava Kalpa Sútra*, fol. 55 (b). The transcript (nearly amounting to a fac-simile) was made by a Sanskrit student, Miss Amelia Rattenbury.

[§] *Mánava Kalpa Sútras*, fol. 76 (6).

Manu Smṛiti) to the effect that “ Bráhmans who take care of cattle, who trade, who practise mechanical and sportive arts, who are body-attendants, who are usurers, are to be treated as Shúdras.”*

The Sútras very unequivocally bring us to the Law Books. The time of their respective authors, or rather collectors, we may afterwards notice.

Without enlarging at present on what has so evidently conducted us to what are, undoubtedly, the positive institutions of Caste, we would now make a brief recapitulation of this long section of our work, with a view to concentrating on the precise subject of our inquiries the scattered rays which it furnishes.

The ruling tribe of India for many ages past has been that of the Áryas, whose language (the oldest specimens of which we have in the Védas, and which was ultimately called the Sanskrit), is admitted by all philologists to be cognate with the Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, Armenian, Persian, and other European and Asiatic languages, comprehended in the Indo-Teutonic family. It bears the closest analogy to the Zend, in which exist the ancient literary works of the followers of Zoroaster, or the Iranians, or Pársís. The *Iranians* derived their name from their supposed primitive seat as an organized community, *Airyana Vaéjo* (the Aryan Vaéjo), on the slopes of the mountainous country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, the general name of the land over which they afterwards spread on their way to the south being *Airya*, the

* Mánava Kalpa Sútras, fol. 98 (b). The dictum quoted occurs in the Manu Smṛiti, viii. 102, where it is applied to the treatment of witnesses.

noun of the adjective *Airyana* now mentioned. The word *A'rya* in Sanskrit designates the people who had come from *Airya*, in the first instance, to the banks of the Indus, where, in consequence of social and religious changes, they became to a great extent separated from their congeners, who had failed to follow them to the limits of their wanderings. On the affluents and banks of the Indus, the A'ryas composed the hymns now found in the Védic collections, which are the only sources of our knowledge of their ancient state. The religious differences which occurred between them and the Iranians were of considerable magnitude; but nevertheless they left many traces, as we have seen, of a common faith and practice in the ages of antiquity. The A'ryas were in many respects an interesting people, and considerably advanced in civilization; but as they extended themselves in the land of the Indus and adjoining territories, and came in contact with other tribes who had preceded them in their immigrations into these regions of the earth, they manifested to them great pride of race and violence of religious antipathy and opposition, as is abundantly evident from numerous passages which we have produced from their ancient literary remains. This pride of race and violence of religious antipathy were the origin of the caste feeling everafterwards displayed by the A'ryas to the tribes whom they supposed to be inferior to themselves, and more especially to those who have not been able in whole or in part to resist their religious and civil dominion. So powerful were the effects of these evils that the A'ryas viewed the strange people, whose inheritances

they sought to possess, as scarcely human beings. Their very names they made the synonyms of fiends and devils.

But in connexion with Caste the community of the A'ryas themselves has to be looked at as well as their bearing to the tribes and races exterior to that community. Though religious and social distinctions were known among them from their entrance into India, Caste in the technical sense of the term did certainly not then exist among them. The *Brahmá* or *Bráhma*n was at first merely the utterer or conductor of *brahma* or prayer ; the *Rájanya*, the prince, and the *Kshatra*, or *Kshatriya*, were the possessors and dispensers of the *raj* or government, and *kshatra*, power or authority ; and the *Visha*, *Viṭa*, or *Vaishya*, was an ordinary householder. Rank and profession were seen in these distinctions ; but they were founded on fitness, conventional understanding, and arrangement ; and not on an alleged diverse generation from the body or substance of deity. As far as any religious pre-eminence might be associated with them, they were not even hereditary. The Bráhmans asked no privileges on account of original status or dignity. As distinguished from other priests associated with themselves and belonging to the same class, they were only, on first obtaining distinction, conductors of the greater ceremonials, and the appointed *Purohitas*, or family-priests of kings and princes. The highest parties in a religious point of view in the A'ryan community were the Rishis, the poetical authors of their hymns ; and these might belong either to kingly, priestly, common, or even Dásyu, families. Instances of their intermarriage in both kingly and priestly families are brought to notice. *Rájanyas* and

Vaishyas had the privilege of conducting sacrifice as well as *Bráhmans*; and no peculiar appropriation of duty to *Vaishyas* was for long made by religious legislation. The name *Shúdra* does not even occur in the early parts of the collection of the *Védas*. It belonged to a people first found (and enslaved) by the *A'ryas* on the banks of the *Indus*; and it was afterwards given to other bodies of men placed in a similar position with regard to the dominant tribe. The doctrine of Caste impurity and defilement is not found in the ancient *Védic* collections, though the *Bráhmaṇas* make allusions to sacramental defilement. The peculiar conception of the god *Brahmá*, in connexion with which the theory of Caste is associated, had been formed in the first of the *Védic* ages. The Hymn of the Primeval Male in which it is first found in an incipient form does not belong to the earlier portions of the *Védas*.

It is in the derivative *Védas* that the predominance of the *Bráhman* in sacrifice first begins authoritatively to appear. In these derivative *Védas*, too, various social distinctions and professional functions are first mentioned, though without any reference to an established religious foundation. Custom, it may be admitted, however, was at the time of the arrangement of these *Védas* preparing the way for the development of inter-*A'ryan* Caste. In one of the *Khillas*, or supplementary chapters, of the *White Yajur Véda*, that denominated the *Purushamédha*,—certainly not older than the period of the *Bráhmaṇas*,—numerous distinctive and curious classes in the Indian community are brought to notice. Many of these classes were afterwards recognized as forming discriminated castes; but a

reference to their specified associations and connexions shōws that the Caste-system was not matured when the chapter of the *Purushamēdha* was composed.

A great deterioration of the Indian mind, bearing on the development of Caste, appears in connexion with the *Atharva*, the latest of the Védic collections. The Indian people are obviously brought to notice in it as bound in the fetters of an established hierarchy and rampant superstition. The priest, particularly the priest of the *Atharva* class, is dominant in that work. In it, too, the Bráhmaṇ, or the *Purohita*, is not the minister, or substitute, but the lord of the prince; and peculiar privileges are consequently to be enjoyed by him.

In the *Bráhmaṇas*, or earliest Liturgical and Rubrical Directories and Compilations of the Legendry and Speculation of the Bráhmaṇs,—the supposed age of which has just been mentioned,—the progress of the Bráhmaṇs to power, and the gradual development of Caste in general, receives some valuable incidental illustrations. These compositions always treat of the Bráhmaṇs as a pre-eminent class, ascribing their “beauty and wisdom” to the *Gáyatrí* verse; while they speak of the *Kshatriya* as obtaining “splendour and bravery” from the *Trīṣṭub*, and of the *Vaiśhya*, as getting cattle, from the *Jagatí*. A certain *Rishi* of the *Vēdas*, a *Dāśyaputra* they tell us, enjoyed his status only by the special favour of the gods. The Bráhmaṇ, they say, stands in the relationship to others of *Bṛhaspati*, the *Purohita* of the gods. They encourage the maintenance of a hereditary priesthood, even by force. They relate long legends to enhance the virtue of the royal *Vishvámitra*, who had been raised to the Brahmanhood by his adoption of a Bráhmaṇ who

had narrowly escaped been sacrificed to the gods; and they degrade the memory of this Vishvāmitra by making him the parent of certain aboriginal tribes. They throw distinctive light on the manner in which the Brāhmanas practically obtained a monopoly in sacrifice. The Brāhmanas, they tell us, acted in their own peculiar character and functions when they conducted sacrifices, while the Kshatriyas laid aside their peculiar character and functions when they sacrificed and performed a work beyond their general ability. They invent stories of excessive (almost incalculable) rewards having been given by princes to officiating priests. They put the Brāhman in the class of the gods, and the Shūdra in the class of the devils. Nay, they declare that the Brāhman is every divinity. In the lack of a goat for a sacrifice, the Homa, they declare, may be made at the right hand of a Brāhman. He is the Vaishvānara fire; if the Homa be made on the *Brāhman's* hand, it is as if made by Agni himself. The *Brāhman* is of the form of the day; the *Kshatriya*, of the form of the night. The *Shūdra* is only the watchman at the great horse-sacrifice. It is perhaps in connexion with his watching at sacrifice, or in his participation in the edibles or potables of sacrifice (also referred to in the Brāhmanas) that the Shūdra in a particular instance is invited to sacrifice.* The Brāhman they recommend to seek to be the personal representative at sacrifice of every Kshatriya. Defilement and impurity they first bring to notice; but this not in connexion with the persons of men in ordinary circumstances, as in the matured system of caste, but in connexion with sacramental services.

* See above, p. 163.

One of the legends of the Bráhmaṇas, agreeing in some respects with the Mosaic history of the Deluge, seems to indicate that the A'ryas had some tradition of their having passed some great mountainous range to the north on their coming to India. This agrees with the inferences noticed in the commencement of this section of our work. A party connected with Gandhára is represented in the *Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa* as speaking in his proper character, and this as an A'ryan. Pentads and Heptads are mentioned in the same work, but these perhaps only in connexion with the peoples of the Panjáb and the contiguous country.

The old *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads*, which are founded on Pantheism, or on Dualism, are philosophically speaking unfavourable to caste, inasmuch as they treat of all the varieties of men and animals as merely developments of *Brahma*, which they use in the new sense of the universal Self, Soul, or Spirit. They even ascribe the origin of the knowledge of *Brahma* (in a passage which we shall afterwards quote) to the Kshatriyas as distinguished from the Bráhmans.* Yet incidental references and legends in these works are sometimes not inconsistent with the claims of the Bráhmaṇas for pre-eminence. *Brahma*, they say, is the birth-place of the Kshatra. God in the Bráhmaṇ is in his highest form. The doctrine of *Brahma* (or Soul) may be learned from a Kshatriya; but it goes against the grain for a Bráhmaṇ to approach a Kshatriya to learn this doctrine. Looking to the non-initiated world, these philosophical works recognize the Bráhmaṇical A'shrams, or Orders, as in the later Law Books. The founders of the Indian Schools, in general, accommo-

* Chhandogya Up. v. 3. 7.

dated themselves to the prevailing customs and superstitions of the country.

The *Vedic Sūtras*, the period of which probably ranges from 600 to 200 before Christ, and which are intermediate between the Brāhmaṇas and the Law Books, show a marked growth in the development of caste. This remark is more applicable, however, to the *Shrauta Sūtras* and *Sāma-yāchārika* or *Dharma Sūtras*, than to the *Grihya Sūtras* or *Sūtras of Domestic Services* ; but our references to them have been so recent that they need not be here recapitulated.

From what we have collected, translated, and said in this long section, it must be apparent that Caste, which was not an original institution of the A'ryas, arose from small and almost imperceptible beginnings, though in a way which at the same time is not unintelligible in the view of the admitted pravities of human nature. Our conclusions respecting it though founded on a personal and special examination of the Védic works to which we have referred (with the helps with which they are now associated), are wonderfully in accordance with those of the learned orientalists who have of late years given their attention to it in Europe, such as Lassen, Roth, Weber, Muir, and Max Müller. All these learned gentlemen have, at greater or less length, noticed the rise and advancement of the Brāhmanical power much in the way we have done in the preceding pages. Dr. Müller, for example, thus writes in his usual animated style, but with an acute recognition of facts and principles :—"The three occupations of the A'ryas in India were fighting, cultivating the soil, and worshipping the gods. Those who fought

the battles of the people would naturally acquire influence and rank, and their leaders appear in the Vêda as Rajas or Kings. Those who did not share in the fighting would occupy a more humble position ; they were called Vish, Vaishyaz, or householders, and would no doubt have to contribute towards the maintenance of the armies.” “ But a third occupation, that of worshipping the gods, was evidently considered by the whole nation to be as important and as truly essential to the well-being of the country as fighting against enemies or cultivating the soil. However imperfect and absurd their notions of the Deity may seem to us, we must admit that no nation was ever so anxious to perform the service of their gods as the early Hindus. It is the gods who conquer the enemy, it is the gods who vouchsafe a rich harvest. Health and wealth, children, friends, flocks, and gold, all are the gifts of the gods. And these are not unmeaning phrases with those early poets.” “ Among a nation of this peculiar stamp the priests were certain to acquire great influence at a very early period, and, like all priests, they were as certain to use it for their own advantage, and to the ruin of all true religious feeling. It is the lifespring of all religion that man feels the immediate presence of God, and draws as near to God as a child to his father. But the priests maintained that no one should approach the gods without their intercession, and that no sacrifices should be offered without their advice. Most of the Indo-European nations have resisted these claims, but in India the priests were successful, and in the Vêda, already, though only in some of the latest hymns, the position of the priest or the Purohita, is firmly esta-

blished.” “ These very hymns were the chief strength on which the priests relied, and they were handed down from father to son as the most valuable heirloom. A hymn by which the gods had been invoked at the beginning of a battle, and which had secured to the king a victory over his enemies, was considered an unfailing spell, and it became the sacred war-song of a whole tribe. But the priests only were allowed to chant these songs, they only were able to teach them, and they impressed the people with a belief that the slightest mistake in the words, or the pronunciation of the words, would rouse the anger of the gods. Thus they became the masters of all religious ceremonies, the teachers of the people, the ministers of kings. Their favour was courted, their anger dreaded, by a pious but credulous race. The priests never aspired [nominally] to Royal power. They left the insignia of royalty to the military caste. But woe to the warrior who would not submit to their spiritual guidance, or who would dare to perform his sacrifice without waiting for his Samuel ! There were fierce and sanguinary struggles between the priests and the nobility before the King consented to bow before the Bráhmaṇ. In the Vēda we still find Kings composing their own hymns to the gods, royal bards, Rájarāṣhis, who united in their person the powers both of king and priest. The family of Vishvámitra has contributed its own collection of hymns to the R̥ig-Vēda, but Vishvámitra himself was of royal descent, and if in later times he is represented as admitted to the Brahmanic family of the Bhṛigus—a family famous for its sanctity as well as its valour—this is but an excuse invented by the Bráhmaṇs, in order to

explain what would otherwise have upset their old system. King Janaka of Vídéha is represented in some of the Bráhmaṇas as more leagued than any of the Bráhmans at his Court. Yet, when instructed by Yájñavalkya as to the real nature of the soul and its identity with Brahma, or the divine spirit, he exclaims, ‘I will give thee, O Venerable, the kingdom of the Vidéhas, and my own self, to become thy slave.’ As the influence of the Bráhmans extended they became more and more jealous of their privileges, and, while fixing their own privileges, they endeavoured at the same time to circumscribe the duties of the warriors and the householders. Those of the A’ryas who would not submit to the laws of the three estates were treated as outcasts, and they are chiefly known by the name of Vrátyas or tribes. They spoke the same language as the three A’ryan castes, but they did not submit to Brahmanic discipline, and they had to perform certain penances if they wished to be readmitted into the A’ryan society. The aboriginal inhabitants again, who conformed to the Bráhmanic law, received certain privileges, and were constituted as a fourth caste, under the name of Shúdras, whereas all the rest who kept aloof were called Dasyus, whatever their language might be.”* We clearly see the path over which the Bráhmans moved, though we cannot sympathize with either their aspirations or their success. Caste was a growth, pride being its seminal principle—the pride of race, and the pride of religious presumption and pre-eminence, issuing in arrogant monopoly.

* *Times*, 10th April, 1858.

VI.—CASTE IN THE INDIAN EPICS.

In looking for information as to the origin and early development of Caste, we have hitherto confined our attention to the Védic works, of different characters and ages, which, as far as that institution is concerned, have passed in review before us in the preceding section of our volume. We have next to seek for illustrations of its action in Indian society in the literature which may be considered, at least, in its original form, intermediate between these Védic works and the Hindu Law-Books, in which Caste is essentially bound up with Hinduism, and decreed, as far as priestly legislation can accomplish the matter, to last till the world, by its impairment and neglect, is ripe for destruction.* We now turn our attention to the *Epics*, which, when critically viewed, are really the best sources of information respecting the working of Caste influences and their extension and maintenance throughout India.

By the Indian Epics, we mean the *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárata*. They are both designated *Kávyá*, poetry properly so-called, and *itihása* or *ákhyaána*, narrative or tale. They were first denominated Epics by Sir William Jones, whose conjectures, even respecting what was but imperfectly known in his day, were often of a happy character. "The appropriateness of the epithet," says Professor H. H. Wilson, "has been denied by some of those ultra-admirers of Virgil and Homer, who will allow the dignity of the Epos to be claimed by none but the objects of their idolatry: and, in the restricted sense in which a poem is entitled *Epic*, agreeable to the definition of

* See before, note, p. 72.

Aristotle, it may indeed be matter of question, if the term be strictly applicable to the Hindu Poems. Although, however, it might not be impossible to vindicate their pretensions to such a title, yet it is not worth while to defend them. It matters little what they are called ; and they will not lose their value, as interesting narratives of important events, as storehouses of historical traditions and mythological legends, as records of the ancient social and political condition of India, and as pictures of natural manners, if, instead of *epic*, they be denominated *heroic poems*.”* As they are now found, they are both, especially the Mahábhárata, deficient in unity, and have an immense number of anachronisms, episodes, digressions, discussions, interpolations, many of which are posterior to their original composition. We notice them in what we conceive to be the order of that composition.

1. The *Rámáyana*, or Progress-of-Ráma; derives its name from Ráma, King of Ayodhyá, (“Oude”), the thirty-fourth in descent according to one of its recensions from the mythical personage Vaivasvata, or Manu, the son of the sun. Its great object is to celebrate, after a mythical or allegorical form, the advancement of the A’ryan power and rites among the uncivilized tribes of the south of India, the opposition to which is typified by a Rákshasa or giant named Rávana,† who is said to have carried off Sítá, the wife of Ráma, the daughter of Swadhaya, the representative of the line of Janaka of Vidéha, or Maithila.

* Introduction to Johnson’s Selections from the Mahábhárata.

† “What this is to India,” says Dr. Max Müller, “the war of Persia was to Greece ; the victory of patriotic valour over brute force. The muses of Herodotus are the Rámáyana of Hellas.” Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 17. Yet, how vastly different their character !

This occurred when Ráma, banished by his father Dasharatha, was living as an ascetic in the forests, along with one of his brothers Lakshmana. The action of the poem is primarily directed to the recovery and reinstatement of Sítá ; and on the whole it is of a uniform casting. Ráma, with the assistance of Sugriva, Hanumán, and other monkey chiefs, (representatives of forest tribes,) invaded Lanká, the country of the ravisher, took his capital, killed Ravana in fight, established the brother of the offender (Vibhishana, the formidable) on the throne, and returned to Ayodhya, where he reigned in succession to his father. The sphere of the poem, viewed in its essential range, as observed by Professor Lassen, “ is geographically limited to the country north of the Vindhya [mountains] ; in the south there is nothing but a wilderness of forests, with monkeys for inhabitants.” Little notice is taken in it of any southern peoples, though there are allusions to them in Sugriva’s charge to the monkeys requiring them to search various localities for Sítá, as will afterwards appear ; and the extension of its story to Lanká, or Ceylon, as thought by Lassen, is probably posterior to its original composition. It is attributed to Válmiki, a Bráhmaṇ, represented as the contemporary of Ráma ; but certainly it was not composed in the days of that king, while large portions of it so speak of Válmiki as to show that he was not their author. The portions of it which allude to Ráma as an incarnation of a portion, or a portion-of-a-portion (*anśháṇsha*) of the god Viṣṇu do not seem to belong to its original plan.* It was originally handed

* “ In the Epic poems,” says Lassen, “ Ráma and Kṛṣṇa certainly appear as incarnations of Viṣṇu, but at the same time as human

down orally ; and is said to have been sung at a great Ashvamédha, or royal horse-sacrifice by Kusha and Lava, the reputed [but disowned] sons of its hero, “ their joint name (*Kushilava*)”, as remarked by Lassen, “ signifying a bard and at a later time an actor, as though the hero had through his seed given birth to a race of bards.” A good portion of it, distinguished for the ease and naturalness of its language, may have been composed when the Sanskrit was a spoken language, which it ceased to be soon after

heroes ; and these two representations are so little commingled that both of the two ordinarily display themselves only like other more highly-gifted men, act according to human motives, and do not by any means turn their divine superiority to account. It is only in single sections especially added to inculcate their divinity that they come forward as Vishnu. No one can read the two poems with attention without being reminded of the later addition of these deifying sections, of the awkward manner in which they are often introduced, of the looseness of their connexion, and of their superfluousness with reference to the progress of the narrative. Even as the Mahábhárata now stands Kṛishṇa is not the principal hero of the poem ; this part is appropriated to the Pándavas. He certainly belonged to the original Pándava legend, but only as the hero of his tribe, and not as occupying a higher position than the Pándavas. His elevation above his fellow-heroes is due to later endeavours, but does not pervade the whole work, and it is only in a very few places that the later editors have ventured to call the Bhárata the holy book of Kṛishṇa.” For Lassen on the Indian Epics, see his *Indische Altherthumskunde*, i. 479-499. Gorresio, in his preface to the fifth volume of his text of the Rámáyana, after quoting the passages in which Ráma is spoken of in that work as an Avatára of Vishnu, hesitates to pronounce on the question of their original connection, or not, with the poem. At p. xlviii, he says, “ Resti dunque sospesa la sentenza : *sub judice lis*.” The passages quoted are but few in number, and the idea which they express is certainly not wrought into the body of the poem.

the time of Buddha. Its legends (as well as those of the Mahábhárata which is posterior to it) Professor Lassen justly holds, "were remolded in a way which tended to generalize them and obliterate the features of the more ancient times, and while the whole material was subjected to a priestly, religious influence." "The views of a later period," the same distinguished author adds, "penetrated the ancient legend; the doctrines of the three great gods [Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Shiva] of the four castes and their position, and whatever other ideas were not a part of the Indian system, took possession also of the traditions of the earliest era. The priestly element of the history of the gods restricted the martial character of the heroic legend, and confined it to narrower limits. The battles in the Rámáyana seek rather to excite our astonishment by supernatural personages and weapons, than to awaken our wonder by great natural human prowess." Pahlavas (the Pactyes of the Greeks), Shakas, Yavanas, (Iônes, or Greeks) are mentioned in it*; and in all probability, the Yavanas here referred to became known to the Indians posterior to the days of Alexander the Great. It is difficult, almost impossible in many instances, to distinguish between the more ancient and more modern portions of the work, between those which are prior and those which are posterior to the triumph of Buddhism. It exists, it may be proper here to add, in at least two recensions, the Northern recension and Gaud, or Bengal, recension, which, in some places, differ considerably in their wording, though little in their meaning. Sometimes we have had the one, and sometimes the other, in our hands, when making our extracts. In the portions

* Rám. i. 55.

of the Rāmāyana meritoriously published and translated by Drs. Marshman and Carey, there is a combination, or mixture, of the recensions. Schlegel attempted, in the portions which he edited and translated, to give the northern text in its purity. It is the Gaud recension which of late years has been very neatly and accurately edited, with an excellent Italian translation, by the Cavaliere Gaspare Gorresio. In the Sanskrit text of the work, it is said to consist of 24,000 verses.* One of my friends (the Rev. J. W. Gardner), who has kindly counted them for me, finds them to amount to 20,213.

It has evidently been an object with the authors of the Rāmāyana, to represent the Caste system,—especially as connected with the Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shūdras,—as essentially formed in the days of Rāma the King of Ayodhyā, whose doings they celebrate in a mythical form. These castes are often mentioned together, throughout that poem, as forming the recognized divisions of Hindu society. In its introduction it is prophesied of Rāma, as the descendant of Raghu, one of his predecessors on the throne, that he should establish the four *Varnas* in the world according to their respective duties.† Among the inhabitants of his capital were the excellent twice-born men maintaining the sacrificial fire, deeply read in the Vēda and its six Angas,‡ distributors of thousands (of gifts), full

* Rām. i. at the end.

† Rāmāyana i. 199.

‡ The six Vēdāngas, or “members-of-the-Vēda.” “This name,” Dr. Müller (Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 109) correctly says, “does not imply the existence of six distinct books or treatises intimately connected with their [the Brāhmins’] sacred writings, but merely the admission of six

of truth, discipline, and mercy, like the, ancient great Rishis, controllers of themselves.* Of its people in general it is said that no one of them was *anyáyavrittímán*, addicted to a calling not his own.† “The Kshatra, Bráhma, and Viṭa were loyal to their sovereign; while there were no Sankaras (mixed classes) either by birth or by conduct.”‡ “All the Varnas kept by their proper work.”§ To the horse-sacrifice of Dasharatha, the father of Ráma, performed for the sake of offspring, learned and devout Bráhmans were ordered to be summoned by Sumantra, his minister, who is said to have introduced Snayajna, Váma-déva, Jáváli, Kashyapa, the Purohita Vasishṭha, and others, the poet by a gross anachronism going back to the times of the Védas || These Bráhmans began to conduct the sacrifice. Multitudes of their caste were present, who were furnished with abundance of food and drink. Pious persons of the four castes were ordered by Vasishṭha to be invited, and also Janaka, king of Mithilá, the King of Káshí, the king

subjects, the study of which was necessary either for the reading, the understanding, or the proper sacrificial employment of the Veda.” Dr. M. thinks they were originally “integral portions of the Bráhmanas, in the same manner as the [primitive] Puránas and Itibásas,” and not the “small and barren tracts now known by this name.” (p. 110.). They are mentioned in the little Charanavyúha to which we must afterwards refer, as *shikshá* (pronunciation), *kalpa* (ceremonial), *vyakárana* (grammar), *nirukta*, (explanation, of words), *chanda* (metre), and *jyotisha* (astronomy and astrology). All the Bráhmans consider them to have still these divisions.

* Rám. i. 5. 20.

† Rám. i. 6. 6.

‡ Rám i. 6. 21.

सर्वे वर्णाः स्वकर्माभिः Rám. i. 16. (N. R.)

|| Rám. i. 11. 6-9. See also ii. 8.

of Kekayí, Lomapáda the king of Anga, the kings to the east of Sindhusauvira and Suráshtra, and the kings of the south, who must consequently be supposed to have been followers of the A'ryan faith.* Thousands of Bráhmans were feasted separately. The king, bent on increasing his family, presented on that occasion the east country to the Hotri, the west to the Adhvaryu, the south to the Bráhman, and the north to the Udgátri; but these classes of priests devoted to the study of the Véda, refused this offering, accepting, however, "a million of cows, a hundred millions of (pieces of) gold, and four times as many pieces of silver." In addition to this he gave ten millions (of the gold) of Jambunada to the Bráhmans in general.† A somewhat similar liberality was shown by him on the occasion of the marriage of his four sons, when he gave the Bráhmans four hundred thousand cows.‡ Of even this liberality, the rich Bráhmans are represented as scarcely standing in need. Vasiṣṭha is made to decline for his cow Shabalá (which yielded according to desire) an offer from Vishvámitra of fourteen thousand elephants, with

* Some have supposed that the Suráshtra and Sauvira here mentioned were contiguous countries; but this was not the case. Sítá in resisting the addresses of Rávana (Rám. iii. 53. 56) alludes to their distance from one another as an illustration of the distance between him and Ráma, her husband, in her estimation. Suráshtra was in the peninsula of Káthiáwád, and Sauvira (or Sindhu-Sauvira) a district on the Indus, far to the east. The Bráhmans of Sehwan (the Sindomana of Alexander's historians) identify their town with Sindhu-Sauvira, but erroneously, as it is comparatively near Suráshtra.

† Rám. i. 12. 12, et. seq. Compare both recensions.

‡ Rám. i. 74. 28-9.

golden appurtenances ; eight hundred golden chariots, with four white horses for each ; one thousand and ten horses of good birth by country and family, and ten millions of cows of various colours and hues.* This cow, Shabalá, the creation of the ingenuity of the Bráhmans, seems to have had great regard for the glory of Bráhmans, for she says to her owner : “ A Kshatriya’s power, it is said, is not so powerful as that of a Bráhma, which being the power of the Brahma is divine and greater than that of the Kshatra.”† An extraordinary conflict is represented as having been maintained between Vishvámitra and Vashishṭha, which ended in the former performing most extraordinary austerities to obtain the Brahmanhood which the earlier traditions of the Hindus represent him as having acquired.‡ Bhagíratha, the son of Dílipa, is exhibited as performing austerities for the descent of the Ganges, for a thousand years, surrounded in the hot season with five fires and in the cold lying in water, according to the ordinances (found in Manu).§ Allusions are made in it to the destruction in a former age of the Kshatriyas by Parashuráma, the son of Jamadagni, because of their opposition to the Bráhmans.|| Dasharatha, on his sending his son Bharata to his grandfather, thus counsels him :—“ Be thou modest and pious and humble, O my son ; by every endeavour seek to please the Bráhmans devoted to the work of the Shruti and exerting themselves in service. Ask thou counsel of them ; let

* Rám. i. 54. 19-22.

† Ib. i. 55. 14.

‡ Rámáyana i. 54-67. See on this Muir’s Texts, i. 98-110.

§ Rám. i. 44. 9-12. See before, p. 34.

|| Rám. i. 76. 21 et seq.

their counsel be received by thee as the elixir of immortality. They are the root of prosperity and glory. The Brāhman, the utterers of the brahma, are necessary in every ceremonial institute. The gods, O son, O most wise, have, for maintaining the existence of men, assumed the abode of humanity becoming gods on earth, the twice-born. To them belong the Védas, the Dharmashastra, the disciplinary Institutes, the Níti-shástra, and the science of Archery.”* The Brāhman is set forth as deeply lamenting for Rāma when ordered by his father to take up his abode in the wilderness ; and when they followed him on foot, it is said, he would not ride.† Dasha-ratha, his father, who also accompanied him to Chitrakuṭa, is made to express to one of his wives his deep penitence for having killed a boy who appeared to be of the Brāhmanical race, and he was comforted by the youth saying, “I am not of the twice-born ; throw aside the fear of (having committed) Brahmicide. I was produced by a Brāhman on a female Shúdra living in the wilderness.”‡ The property, as well as the life of a Brāhman is represented as sacred, by Bharata, when he complains of Rāma having been sent by his father into the wilderness.§ Rāma's success in war is attributed more to the bows, arrows, scimitars, and other weapons which he received from the Rishis and other Brāhman than to any portion of the divinity which he is represented as possessing.||

* Rām. i. 79, 16-20.

† Rām. ii. 43.

‡ Rām. ii. 66. 43.

§ Rām. ii. 74. 53.

|| Rām. i. 30, et in al. loc.

The honour of the Bráhmans is set forth as one of the grand duties of morality, which are thus spoken of:—

सत्यं च धर्मं च पराक्रमं च
भूतानुकम्पां प्रियवादितां च ।
द्विजातिदेवातिथिपूजनं च
पन्थानमाहुस्त्रिदिवस्य सन्तः

“The sages say that truth, and religion, and valor, and tenderness for living beings, and affectionate speech, and the service or worship of the twice-born, the gods, and guests, form the path which leads to heaven.*” Here the Bráhmans take precedence of the gods.

Little is found in the Rámáyana about the distinctive position of the *Kshatriyas*. It must be remembered, however, that the grand object of the poem is the laudation of the princes of Ayodhyá in the use of their *kshatra*, or power. The *Kshatriyas*, it shows us, formed the leaders of armies. Báli, or Váli a monkey prince, when expostulating with Ráma for wounding him with an arrow not in fair fight, says to him, “Composedness, liberality, self-confidence, forgiveness, truthfulness, boldness, steadiness, and the disposition to punish transgressors are the qualities of the *Kshatra*.” The same quadrumanous

* Rám. ii. 118, 32. The moral teachings of this chapter are much superior to those of the professed law-books. The following lines (verses 13-14) are excellent:—

धर्मः सत्यपरो लोके मूलं धर्मस्य सत्यता ॥
सत्यमेवेश्वरो लोके सत्ये श्रीनिवासं स्थिता ।
सर्वं सत्यप्रतिष्ठानं तस्मात् सत्यपरो भवेत् ॥

Truth is the foundation of piety in the world; the root of religion is truth;

Truth is the supreme principle in the world; on truth prosperity rests.

Truth is the most excellent of all things; wherefore let truth be glorious.

teacher gives him the following instruction agreeable to the Law Books:—"The destroyer of kings, of Brāhmans, and of cows, the thief, the life-taker, the atheist, and the younger brother who marries before the elder, go to hell. My skin is not fit to be worn by saints. What will you do with my bones ! My flesh is not to be ate by a Brāhmā-chári like thyself. O descendant of Raghu, there are five classes (of animals) with five nails which are not to be ate by Brāhmans and Kshatriyas. The hare, porcupine, guana, crocodile, and tortoise are these five. These other five have been mentioned (by law) to me as inedible—the jackal, crocodile, monkey, kinnara, and man.* Munis do not touch either my skin or bones. My flesh is not to be ate by saints ; I am of the five-nailed."† Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Rāma, when instructing Sugrīva, the brother and successor of Bāli, seems to have made a return for this information ; for he repeats this Shloka on the authority of Brāhmā :—"For the slayer of a Brāhman, for the drinker of intoxicants, for the thief, and for the breaker of vows an atonement (*nishkṛiti*‡) is prescribed ; but for ingratitude there is no atonement."§

Though the authors of the Rāmāyaṇa speak of the *Vaishyas* and *Shúdras* as having their respective functions

* The word for man here is *nara*, coupled with *vánara* (monkey),—the man-of-the woods,—according to the native etymologists.

† Rām. iv. 16. 22, 30-34.

‡ Literally "a-doing-away." The word is used in Maráthi as well as in Sanskrit, and is often nearer the idea of "atonement" than *prāyas-chitta*, the meaning of which frequently is "penance," or "penitence."

§ ब्रह्मणे च सुरपि च चौरि भग्नघने तथा निष्कृतिर्वेहिता राजन् कृतघ्नि नास्ति निष्कृतिः Rām. iv. 31. 18.

(*svakarma*), they did not, it appears to me, seek to recognize any such subordination of castes and ranks founded on diversities of occupation as has been exhibited in later times. In the ninetieth chapter of the *Ayodhyá-Kāṇḍa*, the inhabitants of the city of *Ayodhyá* are represented as going out with *Bharata* in the following order,—to seek *Rāma* that he might occupy the throne after his father *Dasharatha*'s death. I give their designations in the singular, for the sake of convenience, though the plural is used by the poet.

| | |
|--|--|
| 1 <i>Maṇḍikāra</i> , ... Jeweller. | 25 <i>Bandi</i> ,† ... Panegyrist. |
| 2 <i>Kumbhakāra</i> , ... Potter. | 26 <i>Varāṭa</i> , ... Varāṭa.‡ |
| 3 <i>Yantrakarmakṛit</i> , Mechanician. | 27 <i>Vaitrakāra</i> , ... Worker-in-witnes. |
| 4 <i>Astropajivi</i> , ... Man-of-arms. | 28 <i>Gāndhika</i> , ... Compounder-of-perfumes. |
| 5 <i>Mayūrika</i> , ... Peacock-keeper. | 29 <i>Pāṇika</i> , ... Dealer-in-drinks. |
| 6 <i>Taittirika</i> , ... Partridge-keeper. | 30 <i>Pravārika</i> , ... Garment-maker. |
| 7 <i>Chhēdaka</i> , ... Borer (as of pearls, wood, etc.) | 31 <i>Sutrakāra</i> , ... Carpenter.§ |
| 8 <i>Bhēdaka</i> , ... Splitter. | 32 <i>Shilpopajivi</i> ... Artisan. |
| 9 <i>Dantakāra</i> , ... Ivory-worker.* | 33 <i>Hiranyakāra</i> , ... Worker-in-gold. |
| 10 <i>Sudhakāra</i> , ... Dealer-in-nectar. | 34 <i>Vridhīyupajivi</i> , Usurer. |
| 11 <i>Gandhīpajivi</i> , ... Perfumer. | 35 <i>Prabālika</i> , ... Worker-in-coral. |
| 12 <i>Soanākāra</i> , ... Goldsmith. | 36 <i>Shaukarika</i> , ... Pork-dealer. |
| 13 <i>Kanakadhāraka</i> , Metallic-burnisher. | 37 <i>Matsyopajivi</i> , ... Fishmonger. |
| 14 <i>Snāpaka</i> , ... Bather. | 38 <i>Mūlavāpa</i> , ... Planter. |
| 15 <i>Chhādaka</i> , ... Dresser. | 39 <i>Kānsyakāra</i> , ... Brazier. |
| 16 <i>Vaidya</i> , ... Physician. | 40 <i>Chitrakāra</i> , ... Painter. |
| 17 <i>Shaundhika</i> , ... Distiller. | 41 <i>Dhīmyavikrāyaka</i> Grain-dealer. |
| 18 <i>Dhūpika</i> , ... Incense-dealer. | 42 <i>Panyavikrayi</i> ... Huckster. |
| 19 <i>Rājaka</i> , ... Washerman. | 43 <i>Phalopajivi</i> , ... Fruit-seller. |
| 20 <i>Tantravadya</i> , ... Weaver. | 44 <i>Pushopajivi</i> , ... Flower-seller. |
| 21 <i>Rangopajivi</i> , ... Actor. | 45 <i>Lēpakāra</i> , ... Plasterer. |
| 22 <i>Abhishṭavaka</i> , ... Encomiast. | 46 <i>Shapataya</i> , ... Architect. |
| 23 <i>Sūta</i> , ... Sūta. | 47 <i>Takshāṇa</i> , ... Carpenter. |
| 24 <i>Māghada</i> , ... Māghada. | 48 <i>Kārayantrika</i> , ... Instrument-maker. |

* Literally, toothworker.

† Probably the equivalent of *Bandijan*.

‡ The occupation of the *Varāṭa* (man of a particular race) is unknown.

§ Binding by cords, instead of nails, seems, judging from the etymology of his name, to have been originally his wont.

| | |
|---|--|
| 49 <i>Nivápa</i> ka, ... Seedsman. | 70 <i>Arakúta</i> kṛita, ... Brass-founder. |
| 50 <i>Ishtakiká</i> raka, ... Brickmaker. | 71 <i>Tamṛikuta</i> [kṛat], Copper-founder. |
| 51 <i>Dadhimodak</i> dra, Cheesemaker. | 72 <i>Svastiká</i> ra, ... Maker-of-figures (on floors, etc). |
| 52 <i>Málaká</i> ra, ... Gardener. | 73 <i>Keshak</i> dra, ... Hairdresser. |
| 53 <i>Changér</i> ika-vik- rayi, Seller-of-wood-sal- rel.* | 74 <i>Bhaktopagá</i> dha- ka, Boiler (Cook). |
| 54 <i>Mánsopaj</i> ivi, ... Flesher. | 75 <i>Bṛishta</i> kára, ... Frier (Cook). |
| 55 <i>Paṭṭikdáv</i> apa, Planter-of-the Lodh-tree.† | 76 <i>Shaktu</i> kára, ... Baker. |
| 56 <i>Chúr</i> opajivi, ... Seller-of-powders. | 77 <i>Sháḍ</i> vika, ... Confectioner. |
| 57 <i>Kárp</i> sika, ... Cotton-dealer (or teazer). | 78 <i>Khandak</i> dra, ... Dealer-in-candied- sugar. |
| 58 <i>Dhanu</i> shkára, ... Maker-of-bows. | 79 <i>Ván</i> ijaka, ... Merchant. |
| 59 <i>Sútra</i> vikrayi, ... Thread-seller. | 80 <i>Kúch</i> akára, ... Cutter-of-crystal, or glassmaker. |
| 60 <i>Shastrakarma</i> - krit, Armourer. | 81 <i>Chatra</i> kára, ... Umbrella-maker. |
| 61 <i>Kín</i> ḍakdra, ... Betelnut-seller. | 82 <i>Vedhakashod</i> ha- ka, Refiner. |
| 62 <i>Tambuli</i> ka. ... Leaf-seller. | 83 <i>Khandasans</i> thá- paka, Maker-of-inlaid- work. |
| 63 <i>Chitra</i> mbhajanti, Draftsman. | 84 <i>Tán</i> ropajivi, ... Coppersmith. |
| 64 <i>Char</i> makára, ... Currier. | 85 <i>Shreṇ</i> imahattara, Chief-of-a-guild. |
| 65 <i>Lohok</i> dra, ... Blacksmith. | 86 <i>Grám</i> aghoshama- hattara, Chief-of-the-town- herds. |
| 66 <i>Shalík</i> shalaya- kartá, Maker-of-darts and javelins. | 87 <i>Shai</i> lúsha, ... Player (or Tum- bler). |
| 67 <i>Vishag</i> hita, ... Destroyer-of-poi- sons. | 88 <i>Dyuta</i> vaitansika, Dice-player. |
| 68 <i>Bhúta</i> grahavi- dhijna, Exorcist. | |
| 69 <i>Bálanám</i> chikil- suk, Physician-for-child- dren, | |

“Followers of each occupation,” it is added, “and all other dealers, in the city crowded together, except those who were sick, old, and young. Bráhmans, who were pure, versed in the Védas, and distinguished, thousands in number, came along behind Bharata, who proceeded with his luggage loaded on bullocks.”‡ To these Bráhmans he had given abundant largesses on the occasion of his having performed the first funeral obsequies (*shraddha*) of his

* Probably for rinsing the teeth.

† For what use?

‡ Rám. ii. 90. In the northern recension (Bombay edition, ii. 83, col. 161), the classes enumerated are much fewer than those in this list.

father. Vasishṭha advised him to occupy the throne, promising that the people of the north, west, and south, the Kéralas (the people of the Konkan and Malabar), the Dandadharas, and the dwellers on the coast of the ocean, would bring him gems (in token of subjection.)*

In the list above-quoted there can be nothing more than an attempt to represent the occupations of the times of Rāma, to which the poem is posterior. Whether or not it belonged to the poem in its original form, it is impossible to say. It shows an advanced state of society, as far as diversities of occupation are concerned. What is most worthy of notice in it is, that the professionists which it enumerates are mentioned seemingly without any reference to the rank usually recognized in caste arrangements. Many of them, it is obvious, must have belonged to the A'ryan race.

The Rāmāyaṇa mentions some of the aboriginal tribes of India with greater respect than that accorded to them in Manu. Rāma in an early stage of his wanderings near the Ganges met "the virtuous Guha, the beloved chief of the Niṣhādas."†. The occurrence of the Niṣhādas at this place seems to indicate that the progress of the A'ryan race in the eastern country was still but limited.‡. The forest tribes represented by Hanumān, Sugrīva, etc. were his great auxiliaries in his alleged journey to Lankā. The *Patharas*, *Shakas* (Saxæ, Scythians), *Yavanas* (Iônes or Greeks) *Kambojas*, *Varcaras* (Barbaroi), *Haritas*, *Kirā-*

* Rām. ii. 88. 7.

† गुहमासाद्य भग्मात्मा निषादाक्षिपतिं प्रियं. Rām. i. 1. 29. Bombay ed. et in al. loc.

‡ For Rāma's intercourse with Guha, see Rām. ii. 52. Gor.

tas, and *Mléchchas* are spoken of as most valiant, though most impure, peoples, in the narrative of the contests between Vashishtha and Vishvámitra in the first book. The *Chāṇḍálas* (the Gondaloi of Ptolemy*) are more than once mentioned as conveying defilement to those coming in contact with them. The sons, or disciples of Vasishtha, are represented as asking, in opposition to Vishvámitra, originally a Kshatriya, how the gods can eat the sacrifice when it is offered by a Kshatriya officiating as a priest (*yajaka*) for a Chāṇḍála, and how Bráhmans after eating the food of a Chāṇḍála can go to heaven purified by Vishvámitra.† Yet Ráma is said to have called the chief of the twice-born (the Bráhmaṇas) to kindle the fire of the Homa, to repeat mantras, to scatter the Kusha grass, and to offer clarified butter to the fire, on the occasion of the instalment on the throne of the monkey Báli, who did not recover from the wound of his arrow.‡

The most extensive allusions to the provinces, tribes, and nations of India which the Rámáyana contains are made in the orders issued by Sugriva to his monkey-hosts to search for Sítá after her abstraction by Ravana. Connected with the East, mention is made (in addition to that of mythical beings) of the Shakas, Pulindas, and Kalingas; of the Sunbhas, Vidéhas, Káshikoshalas, Mágadhas, Daṇḍakulas, Vangas, and Angas; and of the Kirátas, the black-mouthed Párákas and Karbukas. Connected with the South, are noticed the Mékalas, Utkalas, Chédas, Dashárṇas,

* Ptol. Geo. vii.

† Rám. 59. 11-15. See on this Muir's Texts, i. p. 102.

‡ Rám. iv. 25. 27-28.

Kukurās, Antarvédas ; the Bhojas, Pándyas, the Vidarbhas, Rishikas, Ashmakas, Pulindas, and Kalingas ; the Aundras (Andhras ?), the Dravidas, Pundras, Cholas, and Kéralas. Connected with the West reference is made to the Surashṭras, Válhikas, Bhadrās, and Abhíras ; the Suvíras, Anhas, and Kolúkas ; the Kaikéyas, Sindhusauvíras ; Aparṭtas ; the inhabitants of Maru* and Anumarū, the Shurábhíras ; the Pahlavas, and the inhabitants of the Panchanada, Kashmir, the city of Takshashíla, Shaláká, and the Shálvas. Connected with the North, are mentioned the Matsyas, Pulindas, Shúrasénas, the Pracharas, the Bhadrakas, the Kurus and Madrakas, the Gándháras, the Yavanas, Shakas, Odras, Paradās, Válhikas, Pauravas, Kinkaras, Chínas, and Aparchínas, the Tukháras, Varvaras (or Barbaras), Kámbojas, and Daradas, the Kirátas, Tan-kaṇas, Bhadrās, and Pashupálas, and the Uttara Kurus.† The portion of the poem in which these names occur is probably one of its later sections.

Ráma on recovering his wife, and abandoning her from suspicion after she had passed through the ordeal of fire, and being inaugurated, is made to give to the Bráhmans “thousands of thousands of cows, hundreds of hundreds of bulls, 30,000,000 goldings, conveyances, food, clothes, beds and couches, and very many villages.”‡

The Rámáyana, so interesting in a literary point of view, ends with the glorification of the Bráhmans, whose exaltation was ever in the view of its authors.

* Also given as Marabhumí.

† Rám. iv. 40. 41. 43. 44.

‡ Rám. vi. 112. 84-6.

2. The *Mahábhárata*, to which we now proceed, is a work of great size.* It is generally spoken of as containing 100,000 stanzas; but this was certainly not its original bulk. The first printed edition [published at Calcutta], writes Professor H. H. Wilson, “contains 107,389 shlokas; but this comprizes the supplement called *Harivansa*, the stanzas of which are 16,374, and which is certainly not a part of the original *Mahábhárata*.”* In its first chapter it is represented as repeated by the Sauti (or Suta) Ugrashava, the son of Lomaharṣhaṇa, to the Rishis of the Nainiṣha forest. It is attributed to Kṛishṇa Dvaipáyana, or Vyása (“the ‘extender’”), who is said to have comprehended it, in its first edition, in 24,000, stanzas, but without the *Upákhyaṇas* (“inferior narratives”) devoted to the gods, pitris (ancestorial manes), Gandharvas, and men, which when added raised it to 100,000.† It is said to have been communicated by Nárada to the Gods; by Dévala to the Pitris; by Shuka, to the Gandharvas, and by Vaiśhampáyana, (who heard it from his master at a sacrifice of king Janaméjaya, the disciple of Vyása,) to Men. It is said of it that some Bráhmans commence it with the word *Manu*; some, with *ástika*; and some with *uparichara*,‡ In all probability the editions of it have been numerous, episodes and interpolations having been added to it at various times, by Brahmanical agreement. Its name, according to some, means, “of-great-weight”; and according to others, who are probably right in their opinion, “what-pertains-to-the-great-(king)-Bharatá.” Vyása, to

* Introduction to Johnson’s Selections from the *Mahábhárata*.

† *Mahábh.* i. 1. 101 (p. 4).

‡ *Mahábh.* i. 1. 52 (p. 3).

whom its original authorship is assigned, is said to have been the half-brother of Vichitravírya (of the Lunar Race of kings) by whose widowed wives (Ambá and Ambáliká) he had as sons Paṇḍu and Dhṛitarāshṭra.* Paṇḍu had five sons, called the Páṇḍavas—Yuddhiṣṭhira, Bhíma, and Arjuna by his wife Prithá; and Nakula and Sahadeva by his wife Mádrí. Dhṛitarāshṭra had the parentage of a hundred sons ascribed to him, collectively called the Kauravas as descended from king Kuru, of whom Duryodhana the oldest was the most distinguished. The subject of the poem of the Mahábhárata is a war for sovereignty,—the possession of the throne of Hastinápara,—between the Páṇḍavas and Kauravas, now mentioned.

The story of the “Mahábhárata is divided into eighteen Parvas, or “Segments,”—the A’di, Sabhá, Vana, Viráta, Udyoga, Bhíṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa, Shalya, Saup-tika, Strí, Shánti, Anusháshana, Ashvamédha, A’shravásika, Mausala, Maháprasthána, and Svargarohana,—to the general contents of which it is proper for us to allude, for the sake of marking the position of the information which they afford on the subject of caste.

(1.) The *A’di* Parva (or Parvva), the Introductory Section, notices the general circumstances of the parties with whom the Great War originated. Paṇḍu, “the Pale,” was, on account of his pallor (perhaps intimating as supposed by Professor H. H. Wilson a leprous taint)

* Kṛiṣṇa Dvaipáyaṇa is said to have been the son of the Sage Paráshara by Satyavati before her marriage to Shantanu, the king of Hastinápara. Vichitravírya, the successor of Shantanu, dying without offspring, Vyása, according to the custom of the times, raised up by his widows heirs to the throne.

held incapable of succession to the throne. He consequently retired to the Himálaya mountains, where his sons were born to him or (according to the legends) produced through his wives by various of the gods. On his death they were introduced, at Hastinápura, to their uncle Dhṛitarāshṭra, who, on being ultimately satisfied about their origin, took them under his care, and educated them with his own sons, who treated them with jealousy and dislike, setting fire on one occasion to the house in which they resided with their mother Prithá. The Pándavas, warned by this opposition, secreted themselves in the forests, and disguised themselves as Bráhmans. It was only when they heard of the *svayamvara*, (or the choice of a husband after public trial of capacity and prowess) of Draupádí, the daughter of Drupada, king of Páñchála, in which they were successful, that they were again revealed in their own character.* It is curious to observe the alleged polyandrisms of their common wife, which is in accordance with customs still existing in Malabar and Travankur, the South-west of India.

(2.) In the *Sabká*, or Court, Parva, various movements at Hastinápura are recorded. Dhṛitarāshṭra, hearing of the success of the Pándavas sent for them, and divided the sovereignty between them and his sons, Yudhisṭhíra and his brethren reigning at Indraprastha, and Dur-

* For a spirited poetical translation of the Passage of Arms, by Prof. H. H. Wilson, see Quart. Or. Mag. March 1825. The passage of Arms was at Páñchála, and not at Hastinápura as mentioned in the title of this translation.

yodhana and his brethren reigning at Hastinápura, at no great distance from one another. Jealousies and strifes were the consequence of this arrangement. Yudhishthira, aided by his brothers, brought many of the inferior princes of India under his sway. He then engaged in celebrating the ceremonial of the Rájasúya,—in establishment of his pre-eminence,—at which these princes did him obeisance. The sons of Dhṛitaráshṭra, disliking his honours, but feigning a wish to promote the amusement going on, challenged him to a game, resembling backgammon, at which he lost to Duryodhana his all—including his kingdom, wife, brothers, and himself. These were again restored to him on the intercession of Dhṛitaráshṭra; but, on a second adventure, he incurred the penalty of passing, with his brothers and their common wife Draupadi, twelve years in the forests and an additional year in absolute obscurity, with liability to renewal of the whole period in case of their discovery in this interval.

(3.) In the *Vana*, or Forest, Parva, we have an account of the incidents which befell the Pándavas in their banishment.

(4.) The *Viráta* Parva brings to notice the intercommunication of the Pándavas with Viráta, king of Matsya-désa, to whom they revealed themselves after the completion of the period of their exile, and whose assistance they secured to avenge their wrongs.

(5.) The *Udyoga* Parva, or Chapter of Endeavour, relates the preparations made by both sides for the terrible war which was to follow. The assistance of king Kṛishṇa, said to be an Avatára or Incarnation of Viṣṇu, was soli-

cited by both parties, to whom he was related in blood. He gave Duryodhana the choice either of his own personal assistance, or of that of his army. His military force was preferred. In consequence of this he was left free to give himself to the Pándavas, to whose cause, as the story goes, and as the charioteer of Arjuna, he gave invaluable assistance, although he afterwards had his own difficulties in battle with Jarásandha and other foes.

(6.) The *Bhíshma* Parva derives its name from Bhíshma, the son of Shantanu by Gangá, or the Ganges. He was the paternal uncle of Dhritarashtra, owing to whose blindness he acted as regent while his grand-nephews were under age. Though he did not approve of the conduct of Duryodhana to his cousins, he espoused the cause of the Kauravas. In the first series of battles, to which the sixth parva is mainly devoted, he commanded the forces of Duryodhana. He was wounded in fight. Of the battles which took place under him and the generals by whom he was succeeded, it is correctly said, "Some of these are very Homeric; but, in general, the interest of the narrative is injured by repetition, and the battles are spoiled by the introduction of supernatural weapons, which leaves little credit to the hero who vanquishes by their employment."*

7. The *Drona* Parva is named from Drona, the military preceptor of both the Kauravas and Pándavas, who succeeded Bhíshma as commander of the forces of the Kauravas, and proved a most competent warrior.

* Prof. H. H. Wilson's Preface to Johnson's Selections from the Mahábhárata.

8. (The *Karna* Parva makes us acquainted with the generalship, on the same side, of *Karna*, said to be the son of *A'ditya*, the Sun, and of *Prithá*, before her marriage to *Pandu*. It was the jealousy of his brethren, who viewed him as a bastard, which is assigned as the reason of his espousing the cause of their adversaries. He is represented as the king of *Anga*.

9. The *Shalya* Parva gets its name from *Shalya*, king of *Madra*, the successor of *Karna*. It was when he was leader that *Duryodhana* was killed by *Bhíma* in a duel fought with *Gadás*, or maces of a formidable character.)

10. The *Sauptika* Parva, or Section-of-Sleep, is named from a nocturnal attack made on the *Pándavas*, in the repulsion of which they owed much to *Kṛishṇa*, their ally.

11. The *Strí*, or Female, Parva is named from the lamentation of the females over the slain on both sides. It also represents the leaders of the war as nearly overwhelmed with grief. It contains some passages characterized by affection and tenderness.

12. The *Shánti* Parva is the section of Consolation, following this grief. A great deal of the Hindu teaching respecting the duties of kings and the means of liberation from future births, put into the mouth of *Bhíshma*, has found in it a place. It has] evidently received many interpolations.

(13.) The *Anusháshana* Parva, or Section of Law, treats of general duties, the speaker also being *Bhíshma*, about to die, and the principal listener being *Yudhishthira*. Its didactic portions are enlivened by tales and fables, according to Indian custom.

(14.) The *Ashvamédha*, or Horse-sacrifice, Parva, gives us an account of the great ceremonial of Yudhiṣṭhira, on his attaining to acknowledged sovereignty.

(15.) The *A'shramavāsika* Parva, or Section-of-the-Refuge, shows us Dhṛitarāshṭra, his wife Gandhārī (the daughter of the king of Gandhāra), and their companions retiring to a hermitage and there dying.

16. The *Mausala* Parva, or Section-of-the-Club, narrates the destruction of the race of Yadu of the Lunar line, including that of Kṛiṣṇa, one of its members, which was followed by the submergence of Dvārikā, his ultimate capital.

The denomination and contents of the two remaining books, we mention in the words of Professor H. H. Wilson :—

17. "The seventeenth Book called the *Mahāprasthānika* or Great-Journey, witnesses the abdication of his hardly won throne, by Yudhiṣṭhira, and the departure of himself, his brothers, and Draupadī to the Himālaya, on their way to the holy mount Méru. As they proceed, the influence of former evil deeds proves fatal, and each in succession drops dead by the way side, until Yudhiṣṭhira, and a dog that followed them from Hastināpura, are the only survivors. Indra comes to convey the prince to Svarga, or Indra's heaven ; but Yudhiṣṭhira refuses to go thither, unless

Admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company,

and Indra is obliged to comply.

18. "The eighteenth Book, the *Svargarohana* [the Departure-to-Heaven] introduces Yudhiṣṭhira in his bodily

form to heaven. To his great dismay he finds there Duryodhana and the other sons of Dhritarāshṭra ; but sees none of his own friends, his brothers, or Draupadī. He demands to know where they are, and refuses to stay in Svarga without them. A messenger of the gods is sent to show him where his friends are, and leads him to the ‘ fauces graveolentis Averni,’ where he encounters all sorts of disgusting and terrific objects. His first impression is to turn back ; but he is arrested by the wailings of well-remembered voices, imploring him to remain, as his presence has already alleviated their tortures. He overcomes his repugnance, and resolves to share the fate of his friends in health, rather than abide with their enemy in heaven. This is his crowning trial. The gods come, and applaud his disinterested virtue. All the horrors that had formerly beset his path, vanish ; and his friends and kindred are raised along with him to Svarga ; where they become again the celestial personages that they originally were, and which they had ceased to be for a season, in order to descend along with Kṛiṣṇa in human forms amongst mankind and co-operate with him in relieving the world from the tyranny of those evil beings, who were oppressing the virtuous and propagating impiety, in the characters of Duryodhana, his brothers, and their allies.”*

On the Harivansha, which is a supplement to the Mahābhārata, we do not at present say anything.

In examining the Mahābhārata in connexion with the subject of our inquiry, we find a very decided social and poetical exaltation of caste ; some historical traces of the manner in which it acquired its ultimate establishment ;

* Preface to Johnson's Selections from the Mahābhārata.

and some curious theoretical speculations as to its origin. It is convenient to refer to it in the order of its books now mentioned.

(1.) In the first section we have an account of a struggle of the Bráhmans with the Kshatriyas which, though of a wild character, may be noticed as illustrative of the enmity which their mutual contests for supremacy during the rise of the caste system must often have generated. I insert the accurate abstract of it given by Mr. Muir:—"There was a king named Kritavírya, by whose liberality the Bhṛigus, learned in the Védas, who officiated as his priests, had been greatly enriched with corn and money. After he had gone to heaven, his descendants were in want of money, and came to beg for a supply from the Bhṛigus, of whose wealth they were aware. Some of the latter hid their money under ground, others bestowed it on Bráhmans, being afraid of the Kshatriyas, while others again gave these last what they wanted. It happened, however, that a Kshatriya, while digging the ground, discovered the money concealed in the house of a Bhṛigu. The Kshatriyas then assembled and saw this treasure, and slew, in consequence, all the Bhṛigus, down to the children in the womb. The widows, however, fled to the Himálaya mountains. One of them concealed her unborn child in her thigh. The Kshatriyas, hearing of its existence, sought to kill it; but it issued forth with a lustre which blinded the persecutors. They, now humbled, supplicated the mother of the child for the restoration of their sight; but she referred them to her wonderful infant Aurva (into whom the whole Véda, with its six Vedángas,* had entered),

* See, above, p. 216.

as the person who had robbed them of their sight, (in retaliation of the slaughter of his relatives), and who alone could restore it. They accordingly had recourse to him, and their eyesight was restored. Aurva, however, meditated the destruction of all living creatures, in revenge for the slaughter of the Bhṛigus ; but his progenitors (pitṛis) themselves appeared, and sought to turn him from his purpose by saying that they had no desire to be revenged on the Kshatriyas ; ‘ whose violence the devout Bhṛigus had not overlooked from weakness, but had rather sought to provoke, by concealing their money, (for which, in view of heaven, they cared nothing,) in order, when weary of life, to bring about their own destruction by the hands of those irritated warriors, that so they might be exalted the sooner to paradise.’ ‘ Destroy not the Kshatriyas, O son,’ they concluded, ‘ nor the seven worlds ; abandon your kindled wrath, which nullifies the power of austerity...Aurva, however, argued against this clemency on grounds of justice and policy ; and urged that his wrath, if it found no other vent, would consume himself. He was, however, at length persuaded by the pitṛis to throw it into the sea, where it found exercise in assailing the watery element :—

“ Having become the great Hayashiras, known to those who are acquainted with the Vēda, which vomits forth that fire, and drinks up the waters.”* This legendry, the object of which is apparent, appears in various other forms in the Mahābhārata and other works. The phosphorescence of the sea, seen when ships move along, is pointed to, even in the present day, as the flashings of the Aurvāgni, or submarine fire of Aurva.

* Mahābhārata, i. v. 6802, et seq. Muir's Texts, i. pp. 152.

The celebration of the glory (mahátmya) of Brahmans is said to be one of the objects of the Mahábhárata itself.* Desiring the favour of Brahma and the Bráhmans, it is said Vyása formed the divisions of the Védas, wherefore he is called Vyása, the Divider.†

Without reference to the alleged origin of the castes from the bodily members of the divinity, it is said, that “the known mental sons of Brahma are the six Maharshis, Maríchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu”‡ From these Maharshis, according to the context, all created beings have sprung.

Concerning the eight kinds of marriage prescribed in the Smṛiti—the Bráhma, Daiva, A'rsha, Prájápatya, Asura, Gandharva, Rákshasa, and Paisácha, it is said that the first four of them become the Bráhman; the first six, the Kshatriya; the Rákshasa, a king; and the Paisácha, the Viṭas and Shúdras.§

The “Brahman,” it is said, “is the chief of bipeds, the cow is the highest of quadrupeds; the guru is the chief of those that are venerable; and a son is the chief of those that are delectable.”|| Yet, in the context, it is said that “The Kshatra was created by the Brahma, and the Brahma was formed by the Kshatra.”¶ Perhaps, in the latter clause, the reference is to an allegation such as we find in the Chhándogya Upaniṣhad, that Brahma, viewed in the Vedantic sense of the “science-of-soul,”

* M. Bh. i. v. 2316.

† Ib. v. 2417.

‡ Ib. v. 2518.

§ Ib. 2962-3.

|| M. Bh. i. 3044.

¶ संसृष्टं ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रं शत्रेण सिंहनं. Ib. v. 3377.

particularly as connected with a future state, originated with the Kshatriyas.* Such an origination of this species of learning is by no means improbable, the Kshatriyas ultimately being freer for speculation than the Bráhmans engaged in the cumbersome and minute rites and ceremonies which they succeeded in monopolizing. The credit given to the Kshatriyas in this matter was counter-balanced by the subsequent progress of the Bráhmans in this kind of learning. He who is chief among the knowers-of-Brahma, is he who excels in the use of the weapons-of-Brahma. For Droṇa, a Brahman, superiority even in valour was claimed.†

In a passage, quoted by Mr. Muir, "The Yavanas are said to be descended from Turvasu, the Vaibhojas from Druhyu, and the Mléchcha tribes from Anu."‡ Remarks

* The pre-eminence of the Kshatriya in the case of research as to soul is several times brought to notice in the Chhándogya Upanishad. Mr. Rajendralál Mitra, in the introduction to his edition and translation of this ancient piece, says (pp. 25-26), "In explaining these attributes of Om several anecdotes are related, in one of which (v. 8.) a Kshatriya takes precedence of two Bráhmans in explaining the subject of their discourse. Similar precedence is given to the Kshatriyas in sections 3rd and 11th of the fifth chapter, and in the Katha and Vrihad Aranyaka Upanishads. Nor does this precedence appear to be accidental. Praváhana, King of Panchála (ch. v. sect. 3) goes the length of asserting that the knowledge of man's lot hereafter was first attained by his own caste." In reply to a question from a Bráhman he says, "Since you have thus inquired, and inasmuch as no Bráhman knew it before, hence of all people in the world, the Kshatriyas alone have the right of imparting instruction on this subject."

† M. Bh. i. v. 6379.

‡ Muir, i. p. 178. M. Bh. i. v. 3533.

of this kind, however, are probably speculative for the nonce, and not historical.

The Rishi Vasishṭha is (probably fictionally) associated with the Bháratas as their family-priest. He is represented as installing Samvarana as monarch of the Kshatriya race, to be a horn (of power) over the whole earth, by the simple repetition of the syllable Om.*

The co-operative subordination of the four Castes is said to have been observed in the reign of Shantanu.†

The Nishádas found by the Pándavas and Kauravas, on their going out to hunt, are said to have been so black in their skin and hair that the dogs began to bark at them, and to have been particularly keen in hearing.‡ This is an indication of their long residence in India, and of their comparatively uncivilized state.

Suicide is declared to be less heinous than Brahmicide, for which there is no atonement (*nishkṛiti*).§

A curious legend is related at length to enhance the worth and might of the Bráhmaṇ Vasishṭha and to depreciate his rival Vishvámitra, of whom we have already given various notices. We take the following extracts of it from Mr. Muir's Texts, adopting his excellent translation. "Having gained this great and self-restraining personage" (Vasishṭha), it is said, "the Kings of Ikshvaku's race acquired the dominion of the earth. Possessing this excellent Rishi, Vasishṭha, for their priest, they offered sacrifice. This Brahman-rishi performed sacrificial rites for all those monarchs, as Vrihaspati does for the immortals. Wherefore let some desirable Bráhmaṇ, endowed with

* M. Bh. i. 3731, sq. See on this, Muir, i. p. 135.

† M. Bh. i. v. 3977-8.

‡ Ib. v. 4249.

§ M. Bh. i. v. 6227.

good qualities, whose chief characteristic is religion, and who is skilled in Védic observances, be selected as a family priest. Let a well-born Kshatriya, who wishes to subdue the earth, first appoint a priest, in order to acquire dominion." The story goes on to speak of the cow of Vasishṭha. Vishvámitra offered "a hundred millions of cows, or his kingdom, as her price. His offer was rejected. He then said, 'He was a Kshatriya, and Vasishṭha a Bráhmaṇ, whose function was devotion and study; one of a class who were gentle and destitute of power;—and that as his offer was refused, he would act agreeably to the character of his caste, and take the cow by force.' Vasishṭha told him to do as he proposed without loss of time. Vishvámitra seized the cow, but she would not move from the hermitage, though violently beaten with whip and stick; and demanded of Vasishṭha why he did not help her."*

In the same parva there occurs another legend connected with the parties now mentioned, in which some curious illustrations are given of Bráhmaṇical demands and exactions. Vasishṭha was the priest of king Kalmáshapáda, son of Sudása of the race of Ikshváku, an office desired also by Vishvámitra. The king, when out hunting, desired Shaktri, the eldest of Vasishṭha's hundred sons to get out of the road. "The king must according to all the principles of law cede the path to the Bráhmaṇ," was the reply. The king did not yield, but struck the Bráhmaṇ with his whip. The Bráhmaṇ, in return, laid a curse upon the king, that he should become a man-eater. The king was ultimately, however, about to give way, when Vishvámitra, who was passing

* M. Bh. i. v. 6638, et. seq. Muir's Tests, i. pp. 96-7.

by, put a Rákshasa into him, who urged him to mischief. The king sent some human flesh to a poor Bráhmaṇ, who also laid his curse upon him, to the intent that he should become a man-eater. He consequently began his work by devouring all the children of Vasishṭha, beginning with the oldest. Vasishṭha attempted to destroy himself, instead of destroying his rival Vishvámitra. 'This divine sage hurled himself from the summit of Méru; but fell upon the rocks as if on a heap of cotton. Escaping alive from his fall, he entered a glowing fire in the forest; but the fire, though fiercely blazing, not only failed to burn him, but seemed perfectly cool. He next threw himself into the sea with a heavy stone attached to his neck; but was cast up by the waves on the dry land. He then went home to his hermitage; but seeing it empty and desolate, he was again overcome by grief, and binding himself with bonds he threw himself into the river Vipáshá, which was swollen by the rains, and was sweeping along many trees torn from its banks; but the river severing his bonds, deposited him unbound (Vipáshá); whence the name of the stream, as imposed by the sage....He afterwards threw himself into the *Shatadru* (Sutlej), which derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhmaṇ brilliant as fire.' In consequence of this he was once more stranded. After roaming about over many countries and forests, he again returned to his hermitage; and finding that his daughter-in-law Adríshyantí (Saktí's widow) was pregnant (with a child, who, when born, received the name of Paráshara), and that there was thus a hope of his lineage being continued, he

abstained from further attempts on his own life. King Kalmāshapāda, whom they beheld in the forest, was about to devour them both, when Vasishṭha stopped him by a blast from his mouth, and sprinkling him with water, consecrated by a holy text, he delivered him from the curse by which he had been affected for twelve years. The king then addressed Vasishṭha thus: 'Most excellent sage, I am Saudās, whose priest thou art: What can I do that would be pleasing to thee? Vasishṭha answered: 'This which has happened has been owing to the force of destiny: go, and rule thy kingdom; but O monarch never contemn the Brāhmans.' The king replied: 'never shall I despise the most excellent Brāhmans, but submitting to thy commands, I shall pay them all honor.'** In the Hindu literature there are other legends of a similar character about these personages, which it would contribute but little to our purpose here to notice in detail. The whole have originated in allusions in the Rig-Vēda to both Vasishṭha and Vishvāmitra having been family priests of king Sudāsa, and at the same time having been very jealous of one another's influence, and disposed to use their own power, and that of the gods whom they invoked, to do one another mischief. They testify merely to a struggle of the Brāhmans with the Kshatriyas in the establishment of their priestly monopoly,†—a struggle, the grounds of which are obvious.

(2.) In the *Sabhā Parva* we find a chapter‡ which

* Muir's Texts, i. 113-117. M. Bh. i. v. 6699, et seq.

† See Texts of Mr. Muir, i. 95 et. seq., where the legends are patiently collected and compared and accurately translated.

‡ M. Bh. ii. 5. v. 983, et seq.

throws much light on the geography of ancient India, and of the spread of the Áryas and their institutions in this great country. It is entitled *Digvijaya*, and treats of the conquest of the four quarters of the world by the brothers of Yudhishthira, and of the gifts brought to him by the nations at the time of his Rájásúya, or coronation sacrifice. It has attracted much attention from European orientalists, though, from the state in which the text is found, it appears to have been much neglected by native Sanskrit scholars. It has been copiously illustrated both by Professor Lassen and the late Professor H. H. Wilson,* as well as compared with other portions of the Mahábhárata and of other literary works of the Hindus. The following findings are principally the results of the researches of Lassen. Two routes in advance offered themselves to the Áryans after their settlement in the Panchanada, or Panjáb,—one leading eastward in the direction of the Yamuná and Ganges, and the other along the Sindhu to the ocean. The valleys of the rivers rising in the Himálaya also invited visitors; and Kashmíra became an ancient seat of the Bráhmanic faith. The Daradas, contiguous to this region, however, followed not this law, being denominated Dasyus in Manu, as well as in the Mahábhárata. When the Áryas reached the course of the Yamuná, they found the Vindhya range with its

* See Lassen's commentaries upon it in the first and second volumes of his *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, and in his *Indische Altherthumskunde*, vol. i. p. 531 et. seq. A translation of this portion of his invaluable work is given in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, for May and June 1857, and March and April 1862. For Professor Wilson's illustrations, see his *Vishnu Purána*, pp. 179-197.

many offsets and forests. Following the principal streams they reached the Sarayu and the Kaushiki, where their earlier capitals Ayodhyá and Mithilá were founded. From Madhyadésa where they now were, the roads, in progress, went either across the Vindhya, or round it on both sides. Advances may also have been made by them to the west of the Arávalí range, where, near the range itself, the country is not altogether barren. Suráshtra, mainly the peninsula of Gujarát, appears as early as the Rámáyana as an A'ryan country. From Indraprastha on the Yamuná, a road ran to the Narmadá river by way of Ujjayini; and another ran from the province of Magadha to the upper portions of the Narmadá, but as it passes through the wild country of the Gondas it would not be of much use to the A'ryas.

The Kulindas of the western river-valleys of the Himálaya and the higher contiguous regions were, probably, at the time of the Mahábhárata, an A'ryan nation, never being spoken of as Dasyus, though they must have had but little contact with the A'ryan civilization. The regions contiguous to the western rivers may also be supposed to have been A'ryan, as they were easily accessible to a spreading people. Eastward from the Upper Ganges the population was non-A'ryan, as were the Tauganas and Kirátas of the Sarayu valley. Vidéha and Mithilá, under the Himálaya, appear, in the pilgrimages, as A'ryan land. On the whole, in the time of the Mahábhárata, the A'ryan progress had not advanced farther to the east than we find it in the Rámáyana. In other directions, however, that progress was very considerable. While in the Rámáyana, Anga was the most south-eastern A'ryan land, we find in

the Mahábhárata, powerful kings of the Pundras, the king of Madagiri, of Banga, and of Támralipta, and even the Suhmas on the sea-shore, mentioned; while it tells us that the mouths of the Ganges were frequented by pilgrims. The Bráhmanic law, propagated by the Gautamas, had by this time reached the five principal nations of eastern India,—the Angas, Pundras, Bangas, Suhmas, and Kalingas. The river Vaitarani, in Kalinga, is even spoken of as a holy river. The worship of Shiva is said to have prevailed in its neighbourhood. This region was not all subjected to Bráhmanism. The Odras, Dravidas, and A'ndhras appear as non-A'ryan. In the Rámáyana the hermitage of Agastya is placed in the north of the Upper Godávarí; in the Mahábhárata it is said to have been found by the Pándavas at the mouth of that river. In the Mahábhárata, the tirthas of the Kamáris, or Virgins, is found at the southernmost promontory of India, still named from them Cape Comorin. The hermitages of the teachers of the Dakhan moved south with the A'ryan settlements. A hermitage is spoken of as being at Gokarna on the western coast. Prabhása was also there the locality of a Bráhmanical institution, but further to the north, possibly in the British Konkan.* Shúrparaka was a tirtha both on the western and eastern sea, in the latter case near the mouths of the Krishna.

No tirthas being mentioned as in the interior of the Dakhan, we may conclude that at the time of the Mahábhárata it was but little affected by Bráhmanism. Mahishmatí, in the Maisur, furnishes auxiliaries, however,

* So, Lassen. The Bráhmans of Suráshtra place it at the S. W. corner of the Gujarát Peninsula.

to the Kurus through its king Níla. In connexion with it, Agni is represented as granting unlimited liberty to the women of that land in the choice of a plurality of husbands, as among the well-known Nairs of Malabar to the present time. The more southern part of the Dakhan is treated as a country but little known; and there the Dig-Vijaya places the fabulous nations—the one-footed, the black-faced, etc. The known nations of the south are principally situated on the coasts, as the Kéralas, Pándyas, Dravidas, Odras, and Kalingas. Vibhíshana, the brother of Ravana, is spoken of as in Lanká.

The Payoṣṇí, the river of-hot-water, of which a synonym of corresponding meaning was the Taptí, was at the period to which these notices refer rich in its Bráhma-nical tirthas.* Vidarbha, hodie Berar, and Khándésh, were to a certain extent A'ryan, though many wild tribes must then, as well as at present, have been residing within their borders. The Godávarí and Bhímarathí were praised as holy rivers. Of the affluents of the Godávarí, however, only the Vénva is mentioned. The Pravéní is the frontier of the holy land in the direction of the Dak-shinápatḥa, now corresponding with the Dakhan. "If we sum up these inquiries," says Professor Lassen, "we perceive a considerable progress in the propagation of the A'ryan religion and dominion towards the south when compared with the state of things portrayed in the Rámáyana. The Bráhma-nic cultus had spread from Suráshtra to Gokarna, on the eastern coast not only as far as the mouths of the Gauges, but as far as those of

* It was perhaps from these settlements, sacred to Agni the god of fire, that it received its name.

the Godávarí; and even beyond them, the kings of Kalin-ga and Manipura obeyed the laws of the A'ryan warriors. In the interior, in the south of India, we find no more the solitary hermitages of the Rámáyana; but the banks of the Payoshní, of the Pravérí, and of the Godá-varí are studded with numerous seats of penitents, while the A'ryan kings reign already in the countries to the south of the great mountains of separation, which are even traversed by caravans. Deeper in the south, however, the country is yet non-A'ryan, with the exception of one single region, that of the Máhishikas; and this, although accepting Bráhmans and their cultus, still preserves its peculiar Dakhan customs. The people of the southernmost Dakhan and Ceylon have entered into intercourse with the inhabitants of the North, and have become known to them by the products of their countries. Although the conjecture that this connexion took place by sea is not confirmed by the Epos, we possess for it the weightier testimony of the Védas, that the A'ryan Indians prosecuted navigation and undertook voyages: because the Ashvins are praised for exhibiting their power by protecting the hundred-oared ship of Bhujyu on the immeasurable bottomless sea, and bringing it fortunately to the shore.

“The Mahábhárata affords also instructive hints on the manner of the A'ryan propagation. No A'ryan empire is mentioned on the west coast to the south of Suráshtra. The hermitages, however, of the Bráhmans, and the seats of the Gods, extend as far as Gokarna; and thus far pilgrimages were undertaken. But no A'ryan nation is mentioned. Gokarna is now the southern limit of the domain of the Sanskrit tongue. At the time of Ptolemy,

this coast, and the interior country above it, was called Aryaka ; and hence it must have been occupied by A'ryans. Consequently the immigration of the A'ryans into this part took place later than the time* of the Pándavas, and the Bráhmans appear here only as the precursors of A'ryan possession. The same holds good also of the valley of the Bayoslmí, in which, also, only seats of the Bráhmans are mentioned ; and the King of Vidarbha is not represented to us as a conqueror, but as a founder of a Bráhmanical state. Consequently the Maráthás also immigrated after the heroic time. Bágláná and the country near the sources of the Godávarí, i. e. the first seats of the Maráthás upon the high land, were not yet visited by the Pándavas. It is still plainer handed down by the mythus, that in Málhishmati, the Bráhmans introduced their cultus themselves without the assistance of warriors ; and by this also the conjecture is confirmed, that the south of India was gained over to A'ryan civilization, not by forced conversions, but by means of peaceable missions of Bráhmans. For this we have also the confirmation of Ptolemy, who mentions a race of Bráhmans in southernmost India on the Argalic gulf.”*

On the names of peoples and countries occurring in the Dig-Vijaya much light has been cast not only by Professor Lassen but by Professor H. H. Wilson ; but it is not necessary for us to extend our notices of this and similar portions of the Mahábhárata.

The carrying on of war, at all hazards of life, is declared to be the duty of the Kshatriya.†

(3.) In the *Vana Parva*, after it is again stated that

* Lassen's Indische Altherthumskunde, i. pp. 576-78..

† M. Bh. ii. v. 1951.

the Brahma was formed by the Kshatra and the Kshatra by the Brahma, the necessity of a Kshatra having a Bráhma for instruction and advice is very emphatically set forth. Without an arrangement of this kind any nation or people, it is said, will go to destruction. The power of the Bráhma and Kshatriya united together are as fire and wind in the consumption of the forest—irresistible.* •

With reference doubtless to the early settlement of the Áryans near the Sarasvatí, it is said, “They who dwell to the south of the Sarasvatí and to the north of the Drishadvatí dwell in heaven,” adding that the district is known by the name of the very holy Bráhmakshétra. Onwards it is said that the disappearance (in the sands) of the Sarasvatí takes place from its reaching the borders of the Nishádas (viewed as impure). “Here is this delightful, divine, and fluent river the Sarasvatí. O King of men, (here is) what is called the *Vináshana* (the disappearance) of the Sarasvatí; on account of the fault (*dosha*) of the commencement of the region of the Nishádas, the Sarasvatí, entered the earth.”†

The story of Parshuráma and the Kshatriyas is related in this parva with great particularity. The following accurate notice of the legend is by Mr. Muir:—

“Arjun, son of Kṛitavírya and King of the Haihayas, had, we are told, twenty-one hundred arms. He rode in a chariot of gold, the march of which was irresistible. He thus trod down gods, yakshas, and rishis, and oppressed all creatures. The gods and rishis applied to Vishnu, and he along with Indra, who had been insulted by Arjuna, devised the means of destroying the latter. About this time, the story goes on, there lived a king of Kányakubja called Gádhi, who had a daughter named Satyavatí. The marriage of this princess to the rishi Richika, and the birth of Jamadagni, are then told in the same way as

* M. Bh. iii. v. 975-983.

† M. Bh. iii. v. 5074. Ib. v. 10538.

above narrated in p. 85.* Jamadagni and Satyavatī had five sons, the youngest of whom was the redoubtable Parshurāma. By his father's command he kills his mother (in whom her husband had detected some inward defilement), after the four elder sons had refused this matricidal office, and had in consequence been deprived of reason by their father's curse. At Parshurāma's desire, however, his mother is restored by his father to life, and his brothers to reason, and he himself is absolved from all the guilt of murder. His history now begins to be connected with that of King Arjuna (or Kārtavīrya). The latter had come to Jamadagni's hermitage, and had been respectfully received; but he had requited this honour by carrying away by force the calf of the sage's sacrificial cow, and breaking down his lofty trees. On being informed of this violence, Parshurāma was filled with indignation, attacked and slew Arjuna, and cut off his arms (which according to this version were a thousand in number). Arjuna's sons in return slew the sage Jamadagni, in the absence of Parshurāma. The latter vowed to destroy the whole Kshatriya race, and executed his threat by killing first Arjuna's sons, and their followers. "Twenty-one times," it is said, he swept away all Kshatriyas from the earth, and formed five lakes of blood in Samantapanchaka; in which he satiated the manes of the Bhṛigus.... He then performed a grand sacrifice to Indra, and gave the earth to the officiating priests. He bestowed also a golden altar on the sage Kashyapa..... This, by his permission, the Brāhmanas divided among themselves, deriving thence the name of Khān avāyanas. Having given away the earth to Kashyapa, Parshurāma himself dwells on the mountain Mahēndra. Thus did enmity arise between him and the Kshatriyas, and thus was the earth conquered by Rāma of boundless might.†

This legend, which occurs in other forms elsewhere, may have arisen from a very small beginning, to which we have already referred.‡ The only historical fact on which it can be founded, is that there were olden quarrels

* See p. 237-8 of this work.

† Muir's Texts, i. pp. 156-7 M. Bh. iii. v. 11070, et seq.

‡ See before, p. 148.

about prerogative between Bráhmans and Kshatriyas. Its intended lesson is the danger of Kshatriyas trifling with Bráhmans.

In connexion with a description of the first age, put into the mouth of Hanumán, it is mentioned that Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras strictly observed the institutes of their own castes.* This representation was intended as a hint for the present. In the context, sacrificing (for one's self), giving of gifts, learning the Védas, are said to be common to the three twice-born castes; while sacrificing for others and teaching, and taking alms belong to the Bráhmans,—protection (*pálana*) being the duty of the Kshatriyas, supporting (*poshana*) that of the Vaishyas, and service (*shushrúshá*) that of the Shúdras.†

The King Nahusha, the son of A'yus, and grandson of Pururavas mentioned in the Védas, (who is represented, in the first parva‡ as forcing even the Rishis to pay him tribute, and to carry him upon their shoulders, in a palanquin,) is represented as found by Yudhiṣṭhira as a serpent, into which state he had been brought by the curse of one of them, Agastya Muni, whom he had touched with his foot. He is made to bewail his pride and to ask deliverance from Yudhiṣṭhira, whose name had been given as his saviour by the Muni, on his begging his pardon. It is added that Yudhiṣṭhira gave him a celestial form in which he ascended to heaven. The curse and its limitation were of course both from the Bráhman.§

* M. Bh. iii. v. 11241.

† Ib. iii. v. 11298 et seq.

‡ Ib. i. v. 3151, et seq.

§ M. Bh. iii. v. 12408, et seq. Muir's Texts, i. 68-9.

In the course of the alleged conversation between Yudhiṣṭhira and the Serpent now referred to, some of the principles of caste as affected by the progress of Indian society, are curiously brought forward.

“The Serpent says : Who, O king Yudhiṣṭhira, is the Bráhmaṇ, and what is Knowledge? Declare your high judgment (in the case), I make inquiry of thee. Yudhiṣṭhira says : He in whom are seen truth, liberality, forgiveness, virtue, innocence, austere-devotion, and compassion, he, O king of Nágas, is according to the Smṛiti a Bráhmaṇ. Knowledge, O Serpent, is Parabrahma, without pain, without pleasure, whither, upon having gone, they have no grief; what more do you wish to be known? The Serpent replies : The establishment of the four castes is with proof (authorized), and Bráhma is also true. But even in Shúdras, O Yudhiṣṭhira, are truth, liberality, wrathlessness, innocence, abstinence from killing, compassion. (The) knowledge (of Brahma?) is also without pain or pleasure, O Lord of men; and without these (sensations), there is no other thing but Knowledge. Yudhiṣṭhira says : When in a Shúdra there is a mark of virtue, and it is not in a Dvíja, the Shúdra is not a Shúdra and the Bráhmaṇ is not a Bráhmaṇ. The person in whom that mark of virtue is seen, O Serpent, is a Bráhmaṇ; and the person in whom it is not seen is a Shúdra.”* The conversation is continued (I here avail myself of Mr. Muir’s translation of it) : “The Serpent said : If you regard him only as a Bráhmaṇ whom his conduct makes such, then caste is of no avail until deeds are superadded to it. Yudhiṣṭhira replies :

* M. Bh. iii. vv. 12469, et seq.

O most sapient Serpent, the caste of mankind is difficult to determine, owing to the general confusion of classes. Men of all castes are continually begetting children on women of all castes: the speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death, of all men are alike. This also is established by the word of rishis, and is authoritative,—‘We who sacrifice,’ etc. Hence those who have insight into reality consider virtuous character to be the thing mainly to be desired. The natal rites of a male are enjoined to be performed before the section of the umbilical cord. [See Manu ii. 29]. Then Sávitrī (the Gáyatrī, Manu, ii. 77), becomes his mother, and the religious teacher his father. [Manu, ii. 170, 225.] He is on a level with a Shúdra till he is born in the Véda. [Manu, ii. 172.] In this division of opinions Manu Swayambhuva hath so declared. Again, though the prescribed ceremonies have been fulfilled? Yet, if good conduct is not superadded, there is considered to be, in that case, a great confusion of castes. I have before declared him to be a Bráhmaṇ who aims at purity of conduct.”* There is something here like a statement of certain Buddhist objections to Caste, though with but a feeble reply to them.

An account of the Deluge, much extended, and different from that of the Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa which we have introduced into a former part of this work,† is given in the parva under notice. It differs from that which we have quoted, in this among other respects, that it does not mention the original residence of Manu.‡

* Muir's Texts, i. 197.

† See, before, p. 167 et seq.

‡ M. Bh. iii. 12751, et seq. The passage has been extracted and translated by Mr. Muir in his Texts, ii. 331-2.

The glory of the Bráhmaṇ is emphatically set forth in the following instructions given to Yūdhiṣṭhira by the Rīṣhi Márkaṇḍéya, particularly in their conclusion :—“ The person possessed of these three purities—purity of speech, purity of conduct, and purity by water (ablution)—is worthy of heaven ; of this there is no doubt. The Bráhmaṇ who performs *Sandhyā* morning and evening, repeating the holy, divine *gáyatrī*, the mother of the Védas, that Bráhmaṇ becomes by this divine (object) free from sin (*naṣṭa-kilviṣah*). He is not to grieve for being a receiver of gifts, even though of the earth and ocean (that is of the whole world). Whatever planets, as the sun in the heavens, etc., may be fearful to him, they become to him prosperous, and more and more prosperous for aye. Pursuing evil devils (*pishitáśhináh*,)* of horrible form and great bulk, do not ill-treat the Bráhmaṇ. From teaching, sacrificing, and taking gifts from others (whatever errors may occur?), there is no fault, as Bráhmaṇs are like the blazing fire (which consumes everything). Whether ill-instructed or well-instructed, whether vulgar or refined, Bráhmaṇs are not to be disregarded, being as fire concealed in ashes. As kindled fire in the burning-ground (for the dead) is without fault, so the Bráhmaṇ learned or unlearned is a great deity.”†

Even the Rákshasa Vibhīṣhaṇa, is made to utter respect for the Bráhmaṇs, by declining to use their instrument

* Literally, flesh-eaters.

† M. Bh. iii. vv. 13431–13438. The following is the Sanskrit of the two last Shlokas of this passage :—

दुर्वेदा वा सुवेदा वा प्राकृताः संस्कृतास्तथा । ब्राह्मणानवमन्तव्या भस्मच्छन्ना इवाग्नयः ॥
यथा स्मशाने दीप्तीजाः पावको नैव दुष्यति । एवं विद्वानविद्वान वा ब्राह्मणो देवत्वं महत् ॥

(that of prayer), while his brother Rávana was beseeching Brahma to make him invisible to his foes.*

(4.) In the *Viráta* Parva, we have the distribution of works for the four castes respectively mentioned, as by “Svayambhuva” (Manu), a proof that this portion of the work at least is posterior to that Code.†

(5.) In the *Udyoga* Parva there is a repetition, with variations, of the story of the haughty king Nahusha, evidently again brought forward to show the danger of ill-treating the Bráhmans.‡

(6.) In the *Bhíshma* Parva occurs the well-known Bhagawad-Gítá, or Song-of-God, containing the discourse between Kriṣṇa and Arjuna, in which the latter party relates his humane scruples about going into battle when the crisis of the great war occurred, and the former gives a reply, which, to use the words of Mr. Milman, breathes “the terrible sublime of pantheistic fatalism.”§ The system of philosophy on which this remarkable episode is, in the main, founded, is that of the *Yoga of Paṭlanjali*, in which liberation from further births, and absorption into the divine Spirit, (the great objects of desire according to Hindu speculation), are made dependent on the knowledge of Spirit and the practice of contemplative and ascetic devotion, so far as indifference to pleasure and pain and the suppression of emotional action are concerned. It is not altogether consistent or homogeneous

* M. Bh. iii. 15913. Muir, ii. 433.

† M. Bh. iv. 1457. So also in vv. 830-35 ; 1550-61 ; v. 3154 et seq., etc. See Muir i. pp. 69-73.

‡ M. Bh. v. v. 315, et seq.

§ Quarterly Review, vol. xiv.

throughout, and as pointed out by William de Humboldt, who viewed it as an important contribution to philosophy, has itself been probably the subject of additions and interpolations, from various hands.* Notwithstanding its speculative character, it professes to show respect to what may be called the Hindu institutes. Its notices of Caste are very scanty. The existence of the mixed classes (*Varṇa-sankhara*) it traces to vicious women.† It is probable that at the time it was composed, all illegitimate children were reckoned to belong to the mixed castes, which, in the first instance, had originated from the division of labour. Fighting it represents as the supreme duty of the Kshatriya.‡ Probably with secessions to Buddhism, more than secessions from Caste, in view, but applicable to both, it sets forth the general aphorism :—"One's own religion, though worthless, is better than the religion of another, however well instituted (or followed); one's own religion is profitable at death, while that of another beareth fear."§ It represents Kṛṣṇa (as the Supreme) saying: "They who are of the womb-of-sin, women, Vaishyas, and Shūdras shall go the supreme journey, if they take refuge with me; how much more my holy worshippers, the Brāhmins, and the Rajarshis."|| In connexion with its notices of the three qualities of truth (*satva*), passion (*raja*), and darkness

* For a translation of Humboldt's Essay, by the late Rev. G. H. Weigle, see a valuable edition of the Bhagawad-Gītā in Sanskrit, Canarese, and English, published by the Rev. J. Garrett, at Bangalur, 1849.

† स्त्रीषु दुष्टासु वर्णैष्य जायते वर्णसंकरः M. Bh. vi. v. 872.

‡ M. Bh. vi. v. 909.

§ M. Bh. vi. v. 958.

|| M. B. vi. 1203-4.

(*tama*), it says, that, “The sacrifice which is performed without the ordained rites, without the distribution of food, without the mantras, without dakshinā, and without faith is of the quality of darkness.”* The respective duties and qualities of the Bráhmán, Kshatriya, and Vaishya, it declares in the usual form, as already given by us on its authority.†

(7.) In the *Drona* Parva, the Shúdras, along with other peoples near the Indus, are mentioned as a people,‡ as in the *Dig-vijaya*,—a position consistent with that which we have supposed to have originally belonged to them.§

(8.) In the *Karna* Parva, it is mentioned that in the appointment of Karna to succeed Drona as general, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras were unanimous (*sammatáh*).||

In the same section the following passage occurs :—“The Bráhmans, according to the Shruti, were created by Bráhma from his mouth ; the Kshatra from his arms ; the Vaishyas from his thighs ; and the Shúdras from his feet. Other distinctions of caste called *Pratiloma* and *Anuloma* were produced from them.¶ This, O king, was from intercourse with strange females (those not belonging to one’s own caste). The *Kshatriyas*, according to the Smṛiti, are protectors, collectors (of tribute), and givers-of-largesses. Sacrificing for others, teaching, and taking pure alms, belong to the *Bráhmans*. Bráhmans are established on the earth for the advantage of the people. The *Vaishyas* are in duty

* M. Bh. vi. v. 1439.

† See before, pp. 20, 38, 45.

‡ M. Bh. vii. 183-4.

§ See before, p. 111.

|| M. Bh. viii. 390.

¶ See before, p. 63.

obligated to agriculture, keeping of cattle, and liberality. The *Shūdras* are appointed servants to the Bráhma, Kshatra, and Visha. The *Sútas* are appointed servants of the Bráhma and Kshatra. It is not heard (never enjoined) that a Kshatriya should be a servant to a Súta. I, a *Murdhábhishikta*, (Shalya is addressing Duryodhana) who am born of a Rajarshi family, O king, and who am addressed as a *Maharatha*, am to be served and praised by *Bandis*. I who am, as above signified, O king, do not wish to be the charioteer of a Sútaputra." "Having got so dishonoured, I will certainly not fight. Having asked (leave) of you, O son of Gandhári, I take my departure to my own home."* Duryodhana afterwards reminds Shalya, that a charioteer may be superior to the person driven (as was exemplified in the case of Kṛiṣṇa and Arjuna).† All this is in consistency with the orthodox view of Caste, as found in Manu and elsewhere.‡

In the context of the passages now referred to, much is said of the impurity of the Madrakas, and Gandháras, whose king was Shalya.§ Of the adjoining territories of the *Báhikas*, the neighbours of the Madras, a most curious account is given, in a passage thus summarily translated by Professor H. H. Wilson :—

"An old and excellent Bráhmaṇ reviling the countries Báhika and Madra in the dwelling of Dhṛitaráshṭra, related facts long known, and thus described those nations. External to the Himávan, and beyond the Ganges, beyond the Sarasvatí and Yamuná rivers and Kurukshétra, between five rivers, and the Sindhu as the sixth, are situated the Báhikas, devoid of ritual or observance, and therefore to be shunned.

* M. Bh. viii. v. 1367 et seq.

† M. Bh. viii. v. 1621.

‡ See before, p. 53, et seq.

§ M. Bh. viii. 1337, et seq.

Their fig-tree is named Govardhana (i. e. the place of cōw-killing); their market place is Subhadram, (the place of vending liquor : at least so say the commentators), and these give titles to the doorway of the royal palace. A business of great importance compelled me to dwell amongst the Bāhikas, and their customs are therefore well known to me. The chief city is called Shākāla, and the river Apagā. The people are also named Jarttikas ; and their customs are shameful. They drink spirits made from sugar and grain, and eat meat seasoned with garlic ; and live on flesh and wine : their women intoxicated appear in public places, with no other garb than garlands and perfumes, dancing and singing, and vociferating indecencies in tones more harsh than those of the camel or the ass ; they indulge in promiscuous intercourse, and are under no restraint. They clothe themselves in skins and blankets, and sound the cymbal and drum and conch, and cry aloud with hoarse voices. “ We will hasten to delight, in thick forests and in pleasant places ; we will feast and sport ; and gathering on the high ways spring upon the travellers and spoil, and scourge them.” In Shākāla, a female demon (a Rākshasī) on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight sings aloud, “ I will feast on the flesh of kine, and quaff the inebriating spirit attended by fair and graceful females.” The Shūdra-like Bāhikas have no institutes nor sacrifices ; and neither deities, manes, nor Brāhman accept their offerings. They eat out of wooden or earthen plates, nor heed their being smeared with wine or viands, or licked by dogs, and they use equally in its various preparations the milk of ewes, of camels, and of asses. Who that has drank milk in the city Yugandhara can hope to enter Svarga ? *Bahi* and *Hika* were the names of two fiends in the Vipāshā river ; the *Bāhikas* are their descendants and not of the creation of Brahmā. Some say the *Arattas* are the name of the people, and Bāhika of the waters. The *Vēdas* are not known there, nor oblation, nor sacrifice, and the gods will not partake their food. The *Prasthalas* (perhaps borderers), *Madras*, *Gandhāras*, *A'rattas*, *Khushas*, *Vasas*, *Atisindhus*, (or those beyond the Indus), *Sauvīras*, are all equally infamous. There one who is by birth a *Brāhman*, becomes a *Kshatriya*, or a *Vaishya*, or a *Shūdra*, or a *Barber*, and having been a *barber* becomes a *Brāhman* again. A virtuous woman was once violated by *A'ratta* ruffians, and she cursed the race, and their women have ever since been unchaste. On this account their heirs are their sister's children, not

their own. All countries have their laws and gods: the Yavanas are wise, and pre-eminently brave; the Mléchchas observe their own ritual, but the *Madrakas* are worthless. *Madra* is the ordure of the earth: it is the region of ebriety, unchastity, robbery, and murder: fie on the Panchanada people! fie on the Aratta[†] race!*

From this it is evident that if ever the Madras and Báhikas (or Váhikas) were under A'ryan influence, they had contrived to make their escape from it at the period here represented. Some of the Caste customs of the A'ryas are here revealed by our turning the vices charged by the narrator into virtues.

(9.) In the *Shalya* Parva, there are several stories setting forth the struggles of Vishvámitra to attain Bráhma-
manhood.† Their intended lesson is like that pertaining to this matter found elsewhere:—The Bráhma-
manhood, after the formation of the first of the race of the head-
born, was held to be a privilege of birth, except when
superhuman efforts were made by the favour of the gods
to obtain its advantages.

(10.) In the *Sauptika* Parva, Ashvathámá, the son of Droṇa, a Bráhma-
man, apologizes for his knowledge of war
and the affairs of the Kshatriyas by pleading his own
poverty, the sole cause of his abandonment of Brahma-
nical works.‡ Poverty is a great plea for remissness in
caste observances even at the present day.

(11.) In the *Strí* Parva, we find nothing bearing on
Caste. The writers and framers of the Mahábhárata have

* M. Bh. viii. 2026, et seq. Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. pp. 108-9.

† M. Bh. ix. v. 2265, et seq.; v. 2357, et seq. These passages are translated in Muir's Texts. i. pp. 200-1; 202-204.

‡ M. Bh. ix. v. 122-5.

refrained from discussing any of the questions raised respecting it with mourning women.

(12.) In the *Shánti* Parva, Arjuna teaches that death in battle is better than all sacrifices for a Kshatriya.

In the *Rájadharmánushāsana* section of this division of the Bhárata, there is much said on the religion and duty of kings, corresponding with what we find in the Law-books.*

The legendry respecting Parashuráma and the alleged destruction of the Kshatriyas here appears in a very advanced and extended form. The following is an abridgement of what is found respecting it in Mr. Muir's Texts :—

“Jamadagni was father of Parashuráma, “ who became perfect in all science, thoroughly versed in archery, and the slayer of the Kshatriyas, himself violent as flaming fire. By propitiating Maládéva he obtained among other things the irresistible axe, (*parashu*), from which his name is derived. Arjuna, son of Kritavírya, king of the Haihayas, is here represented as a dutiful and religious monarch who, at an Ashvamédha (horse-sacrifice) bestowed on the Bráhmans the earth with its seven continents and mountains, which he had conquered with his thousand arms.” He had, however, been cursed by the sage Apava (*Vasishtha*) to have those arms cut off by Parashuráma. Being of a meek, pious, kind, and charitable turn of mind, the valiant Arjuna thought nothing of the curse; but his sons, who were of a barbarous disposition, became the cause of his death. Unknown to their father, they took away Jamadagni's calf, and, in consequence Parashuráma attacked Arjuna, and cut off his arms. His sons motivated by killing Jamadagni. Parashuráma having vowed in consequence to sweep away all Kshatriyas from the earth, seized his weapons, and slaughtering the sons and grandsons of Arjuna, with thousands of the Haihayas, he cleared the earth of Kshatriyas, and converted it into a mass of ensanguined mud. Then, being penetrated by deep compassion, he went to the forest. After thousands of years had elapsed he was

* See before, pp. 37-44.

taunted by Parávasu, the grandson of Vishvámitra, with having failed to fulfil his threat, and vainly boasted in public, of having killed all the Kshatriyas, (as many of that tribe were there présent), and with having withdrawn from fear; while the earth had again become overrun by them.....the Kshatriyas who had before been spared had now grown powerful kings. These however, being stung by Parávasu's taunt, Parashuráma now slew, with their children, and all the yet unborn infants as they came into the world. Some, however, were preserved by their mothers. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshatriyas, he gave her as a sacrificial fee to Kashhyapa at the conclusion of the Ashvamédha. Kashyapa, making a signal with his hand, in which he held the sacrificial ladle, that the remaining Kshatriyas should be spared, sent away Parashuráma to the shore of the southern ocean.....Having received dominion over the earth, Kashyapa made it an abode of Bráhmans, and himself withdrew to the forests. Shúdras and Vaishyas then began to act lawlessly towards the wives of the Bráhmans, and, in consequence of there being no government, the weak were oppressed by the strong, and no one was master of his property.....The earth being distressed by the wicked, in consequence of that disorder, descended to the lower regions, etc. This goddess earth then supplicated Kashyapa for protection, and for a king. She had, she said, preserved among the females many Kshatriyas who had been born in the race of the Haihayas, and whom she desired for her protectors." Among these are mentioned Sárvakarmá, the son of Saudása, "whom the tender-hearted priest Paráshara had saved, performing, though a Bráhman, all menial offices, (*Sarvakarmaní*) for him like a Shúdra,—whence the prince's name.....'All these Kshatriyas' descendants have been preserved in different places.....If they protect me I shall continue unshaken. Their fathers and grand-fathers were slain on my account by Ráma, energetic in action. It is incumbent on me to avenge their cause. For I do not desire to be always protected by an extraordinary person [? such as Kashyapa?]; but I will be content with an ordinary ruler (?). Let this be speedily fulfilled.' Káshyapa then sent for these Kshatriyas who had been pointed out by the earth, and installed them in the kingly office."*

* Muir's Texts, i. pp. 157-159. M. Bh. xii. v. 1745, et seq.

This legendry, as we have already hinted,* may have had but a very slender beginning. For its extension there may have been a strong motive at the time it assumed the form now given. This motive, I venture to think, was the disparagement of the Kshatriyas at the time when the Buddhist faith, patronized by the Kshatriyas, began to prevail. But this matter we may afterwards notice.

Prithu, (the son of Véna, mentioned as a refractory king by Manu†), is represented in the Parva before us as very respectful to the chief of the twice-born. “In thought, deed, and word,” it was enjoined upon him, “take on thyself, and constantly renew the engagement (*pratijñá*) to uphold the earthly Brahma (Védic services)...And promise that thou wilt exempt the Bráhmans from punishment, and preserve society from the confusion of castes. The son of Véna then addressed the gods headed by the Rishis: ‘The illustrious Bráhmans, the chief of men, shall be venerated by me.’‡ In this veneration much moral excellence was concentrated, according to Brahmanical notions. In the context, a fanciful derivation of the name *Kshatriya* is thus given:—“The Kshatriya is so called from saving the Bráhmans from *Kshata* (hurt).”§

Long discussions are carried on between Bhíṣma and

* See before, p. 148.

† Manu, vii. 41.

‡ M. Bh. xii. v. 2221, et seq.

§ ब्राह्मणानां क्षत्राणात्तनः क्षत्रिय उच्यते. M. Bh. xii. v. 2247. *Kshatra* really means “power”; and Kshatriya, “a possessor of power.” See before p. 108.

Yudhishthira on the subject of Caste, in which the exaltation of the Bráhmaṇ, his four^c áshramas, and his six works, are specified in the usual form; while it is said that the Kshatriyas are to exercise their power in subordination to and with the advice of the Bráhmaṇs.

In connexion with the matters now referred to, some light is cast by the following passage (translated by Mr. Muir) on the accommodations made by the Áryas with the *Dasyus*, when they were able to proselytize them. Bhishma repeats in it in a conversation alleged to have taken place between king Māndhātá and Indra:—

“The Yavanas, Kirátas, Gandháras, Chínas, Shavaras, Varvaras, Shakas, Tusháras, Kankas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, Paundras, Pulindas, Ramáthas, Kambojas, men sprung from Bráhmaṇs and from Kshatriyas, persons of the Vaishya and Shúdra castes—‘how shall these people of different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those who are living as *Dasyus*? Instruct me on these points, for thou [Indra] art the friend of our Kshatriya race.’ Indra answers: All the *Dasyus* should obey their parents, their spiritual directors, and anchorites, and kings. It is also their duty to perform the ceremonies ordained in the Védas. They should sacrifice to the Pitṛis, construct wells, buildings for the distribution of water, and resting places for travellers, and should on proper occasions bestow gifts on the Bráhmaṇs. They should practise innocence, veracity, meekness, purity, and inoffensiveness; should maintain their wives and families; and make a just division of property. Gifts should be distributed at all sacrifices by those who desire to prosper. All the *Dasyus* should offer costly *páka* oblations. Such duties as these, which have been ordained of old, ought to be observed by all people. Māndhatri observes: In this world of men, *Dasyus* are to be seen in all castes, living, under another garb, even among men of the four orders (*áshramas*). Indra replies: ‘When criminal justice has perished, and the duties of Government are disregarded, mankind become bewildered through the wickedness of their kings. When this Kṛta age has come to a close, innumerable mendicants and

hypocrites shall arise, and the four orders become disorganized. Disregarding the excellent paths of ancient duty, and impelled by passion and by anger, men shall fall into wickedness.”*

Though this is certainly not one of the earlier portions of the Mahábhárata, it is possessed of importance, as illustrating the method of bringing foreign tribes within the pale of Bráhmanism. The prophecy with which it concludes shows that it was written when the glory of that system of social life and religion was, in the Indian point of view, beginning to pass away. Curious matter is added to it respecting the evils which occur when Kshatriyas fail to discharge their duty of protection.† In the context, the orthodox view of the origin of the four primitive castes is put into the mouth of the god Váyu, who concludes by saying to Bhíṣhma, “The Bráhman was born immediately after the earth, the Lord of all creatures, to protect the treasury of religion. Therefore [the creator] constituted the Kshatriya the controller of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahmá’s ordinance that the Vaishya should sustain these three castes with money and corn; and that the Shúdra should serve them. The son of Ilá [Pururavas] then enquires: tell me, Váyu, whose should the earth, with its wealth, rightfully be, the Brahman’s or the Kshatriya’s? Váyu replies, “Whatever exists in the world belongs to the Bráhman in right of primogeniture and headship.”‡ Exhortations exhorting Bráhman and Kshatriyas to agree (with this recognition) follow.§

* Muir’s Texts, i. p. 180. M. Bh. xii. v. 2429.

† M. Bh. xii. v. 2540, et seq.

‡ M. Bh. xii. v. 2749, et seq. Muir’s Texts, pp. 33-4.

§ M. Bh. xii. v. 2803, 2936, etc.

A detailed account is given of an alleged conversation between Vishvámitra and a Chāṇḍāla about a proposal made by the sage to eat a dog's thigh in a season of famine. It was when this savoury dish was cooked and ready, that Vishvámitra by a heavy fall of rain was prevented from carrying his fully formed purpose into effect. The Chāṇḍāla is represented as standing out against the use of the extraordinary meal.* Manu alludes to the legend† as an illustration of what may be lawfully done for the sustenance of life in times of difficulty.‡ A Bráhmaṇ (Gautama) is represented as having assimilated himself to the Mléchchas (alias Dasyus, according to the notice), while dwelling among them on a begging excursion. He was recalled to duty, however, by another Bráhmaṇa visitor.§

The following passage, which I give as translated by Mr. Muir, contains a statement of the origin of Caste different from all which we have yet noticed; while at the same time, it is more moderate than many of the Bráhmaṇical teachings which have passed before our view.

“Brigu speaks: Brahma thus formerly created the Prajāpatis (Bráhmaṇas) distinguished by his own energy, and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness, devotion, eternal Védas, virtuous practice, and purity for [the attainment of] heaven. He also formed the Dévas, Dánavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asúras, Mahoragas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Nágas, Pisháchas, and men, Bráhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, and other tribes [or castes] of living creatures. The colour [*varṇa*, meaning primarily colour and afterwards caste] of the Bráhmaṇs was white; that of the Kshatriyas red; that of the Vaishyas yellow; and that of the Shúdras black.

* M. Bh. xii. v. 5330-5420.

† Manu x. 108.

‡ Manu x. 108.

§ M. Bh. xii. v. 6295, et seq.

“ Bháradwája here rejoins : if the cast (*varna*) of the four castes is distinguished by their colour [*varna*], then we perceive in all the castes a confusion of caste [or colour]. Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, anxiety, hunger, fatigue, prevail over all ; [‘ *sarvéśhám na prabhavati* ;’ the reading of the Calcutta edition can scarcely be correct ;] by what, then, is caste distinguished ? [They have in common all] the bodily secretions, with phlegm, bile, and blood ; and the bodies of them all decay : by what then is caste distinguished ? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary : how is the class [or caste] of all these different classes of creatures determined ?

“ Bhrigu replies : there is no distinction of castes ; this whole world is from [or is formed of] Brahmá ; for having been formerly created by him, it became separated into castes in consequence of works. Those red-limbed Bráhmans [twice born] who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, prone to daring, and who had forsaken their duties, fell into the condition of Kshatriyas. The yellow Bráhmans who derived their livelihood from cows, and agriculture, and did not practise their duties, fell into the state of Vaishyas. The Bráhmans who were black, and had lost their purity, who were addicted to violence and lying, who were covetous and subsisted by all kinds of work, fell into the position of Shúdras. Being thus separated by these their works, the Bráhmans became of other castes. Religious ceremonies and sacrifice have not been always forbidden to [all] these. Thus these four castes, whose speech [*Saraswatí*] is from Brahma [or Brahmanical ?]*, were formerly instituted by Brahma ; but by their cupidity fell into ignorance. Bráhmans are dependent on the Védas [brahma] ; their devotion does not perish, while they constantly maintain the Véda, its observances and rules. The Véda [brahma] was created the chief of all things : they who do not know it are not Bráhmans. Of these [of those who are not Bráhmans ?] there are many other classes of different sorts in different places, Pisháchas, Rákshasas, Prétas, various classes of Mléchhas, who have lost all knowledge, sacred and profane, and follow whatever observances they please. Other creatures with the initiation of Bráhmans, who have ascertained

* See Indische Studien, vol. ii. 194 note, where Dr. Weber regards this passage as intimating that at an early period of Indian history the Shúdras spoke the same language as the other castes.

their proper duties, are created by other Rishís through their own devotion. This creation, proceeding from the primeval god, having its root in Brahma, and unperishable, is called the mental creation, devoted to duty.

“Bharadvája now enquires: what constitutes a Bráhmaṇ, a Kshatriya, a Vaishya, or a Shúdra? tell me, O most eloquent of Brahmanical sages.

Bigu replies: he who is pure, consecrated by the natal and other initiatory ceremonies, who duly studies the Vēda, practises the six kinds of works, and the rites of purification, who eats of offerings, is attached to his religious teacher, is constant in austerities, and is devoted to truth, is called a Bráhmaṇ. He in whom are seen truth, liberality, inoffensiveness, innocence, modesty, compassion, and devotion—is declared to be a Bráhmaṇ. He who pursues the duties derived from the function of protection (*Kshattrā*), who studies the Vēda, and is addicted to giving and receiving,—is called a Kshatriya. He who quickly enters among (?) cattle, (this seems to be a play upon words, to connect the word *Vaishya* with the root *vish*, to enter,) is addicted to agriculture, and acquisition, who is pure, and studies the Vēdas,—is called a Vaishya. He who is unclean is addicted constantly to all kinds of food, performs all kinds of works, has abandoned the Vēda, and is destitute of pure observances,—is called a Shúdra. And this is the mark of a Shúdra, and it is not found in a twice-born man: the Shúdra will be a Shúdra, but the Bráhmaṇ not a Bráhmaṇ.”*

The three Varnas, according to Parāshara, are required to observe their respective works, as often enjoined. A Shúdra, however, may practise merchandise, the keeping of cattle, masonry, playing, acting, the selling of spirits and flesh, the selling of iron and leather. What is not agreeable to usage is not to be done.† It is evident from this that the Shúdras by this time were not all in a state of slavery.

(13.) In the *Anushāsana* Parva, there are many notices of Caste as well as in the *Shānti* Parva, now referred to.

* Muir's Texts i. 38-40. M. Bh. xii. v. 6930, et seq.

† M. Bh. xii. v. 10794, et seq.

The Bráhmaṇ (theoretically viewed) is said to be free of anger.*

The question, How did Vishvámitra become a Bráhmaṇ (without transmigrating into another body) is again put and answered. References are made to his reported austerities and exploits, and it is said that Richíka, the father of Shunahshépha, “infused into him the Bráhmaṇhood.”†

A Bráhmaṇ though only ten years of age is fitted, it is said, to be a guru of a Kshatriya a hundred years old. The Bráhmaṇ is the father; the Kshatriya the son. It is in lack of a Bráhmaṇ that a Kshatriya has sovereignty in the earth.‡

The Chándála, according to the fictional system, is said to derive his birth from a Bráhmaṇ mother and a barber father.§

The entertainers of Cows and Bráhmaṇs and the followers of truth need fear no evil.|| The females of the bovine race and the chief of the twice-born are often mentioned together throughout the Mahábhárata as objects of religious veneration and attention.

The law of inheritance as affecting the offspring of Bráhmaṇs by wives of different classes is thus in substance stated: The property of a Bráhmaṇ being divided into ten parts, four of these fall to the offspring by a female

* M. Bh. xiii. 26.

† M. Bh. xiii. v. 260. See on the legends here recited, Muir's Texts, i. 111-112.

‡ M. Bh. xiii. v. 394-5. More occurs in the context about the pre-eminence of the Bráhmaṇ.

§ M. Bh. xiii. v. 1882.

|| M. Bh. xiii. 2035.

Bráhmaṇ ; three, to that by a female Kshatriya ; two, to that by a female Vaishya ; and one to that by a Shúdra.*

The origin of the Párashava, Ugra, Síta, Vaidéhaka, Maudgalya, Bandí, Mágadha, Nisháda, Ayogava, Takshá, Sairandhra, Mádhuka, Madgura, Shvapáka, Saugandha, Madranábha, Pukkasa, Kshudra, Andhra, Kárávāra, Pān-ḍusaupáka, Ahiṇḍaka, and of some other Castes is given in the fictional form found in Manu and in the table which we have already inserted.†

The story of Parashurāma and Vishvámitra is again repeated with variations. Mr. Muir, who gives it at length, asks, “Is the legend intended to account for a real fact? Was Parashurāma of a sacerdotal tribe, and yet by profession a warrior, just as Vishvámitra was conversely of royal extraction, and yet a priest by profession.”‡

The rules to be observed in the giving of gifts and practising liberality (*dāṇdharma*) are laid down with particularity. The fruit of the gift of a cow by a Bráhmaṇ distinguished for truth and duty is equal to that of a thousand (in ordinary circumstances). The fruit of a similar gift by a Kshatriya of this character is equal to that enjoyed by a Bráhmaṇ. That of a Vaishya is that of five hundred ; and of a Shúdra, of the fourth (of the Bráhmaṇ’s merit, or two hundred and fifty).§ A long conversation on the merit of the gift of cows conducted between Saudása

* M. Bh. xiii. v. 2510, et seq.

† M. Bh. xiii. 2565, et. seq. See before, pp. 55-59 ; 65-70.

‡ Muir’s Texts i. 169-171. M. Bh. xiii. 2718, et. seq.

§ M. Bh. xiii. v. 3575-79. See the context for the institutes about Dāṇadharma.

and Vasishṭha, follows.* The teachings of Vasishṭha are in reply to the question, “What, O sinless Lord, is declared to be the purest thing in the three worlds, by constantly observing which a man may acquire the highest merit (*punyaṃuttamam*)”? They specify, amongst other things, the heavens (*lokas*) into which the givers of cows, of particular colours and trappings and conditions as to calves and milk, enter after death. They called forth, according to the legend, great liberality from Saudása, who in consequence attained to the “heavens,”—a plurality of these “heavens” being intimated without that individual specification which, with reference to his personal identity, it might have been difficult to indicate. I once ventured to propose this question to a Bráhmaṇ casuist: “Into what heaven or heavens does the giver of cows of different characters, each meriting a particular heaven, actually enter”? He seemed unwilling to give any answer. I expected him to have said, “He will get a choice.”

Another story about Parashuráma appears in this neighbourhood. It is thus given by Mr. Muir:—

“It begins as follows: ‘Ráma, son of Janadagni, having thrice seven times cleared the world of Kshatriyas, and conquered the whole earth, performed the horse-sacrifice, venerated by Bálhmans and Kshatriyas, which confers all objects of desire, which cleanses all creatures, augments power and lustre; and became thereby sinless and glorious. He did not, however, feel relieved in his mind, but enquired of the Rishis skilled in the scriptures, and the gods, what was that which most perfectly cleansed a man who had committed deeds of violence; for he felt compunction for what he had done. The Rishis skilled in the Védas and Shástras replied, let the Bráhmans be the objects of your liberality, as the authority of the Védas requires; and let the Bráhmaṇ Rishis be further consulted in regard to the

means of lustration.' Parashuráma accordingly consulted Vasishṭha, Agastya, and Kashyapa. They replied that he should bestow cows, land, and other property, and especially gold, the purifying power of which was very great: 'as those who bestow it, bestow the gods:'—a proposition which is thus compendiously proved: 'for Agni comprehends all the gods; and gold is of the essence of Agni.' In regard to the origin of this precious metal, Vasishṭha tells a very long story, how it was born by the goddess Gaugá to Agni, by whom she had been impregnated, and was the son of that god. 'Thus was gold born the offspring of Játavédas (Agni), the chief of gems and of ornaments, the most pure of all pure things, the most auspicious of all auspicious objects; and one with the divine Agni, the lord Prajapati. It must be highly consolatory for those who are disposed to be liberal to the Bráhmans, to be assured that the gift of gold has such a high mystical, as well as current exchangeable, value. 'Parashuráma,' the story concludes, 'after being thus addressed by Vasishṭha, gave gold to the Bráhmans, and was freed from sin.' "

A dirty story is told about the birth of the great Bráhman Bhṛigu, of whose origin various accounts are given in the Hindu writings.†

Arjuna is represented as disputing the power and authority of the Bráhmans, and as boasting of his own prowess as a Kshatriya. The god Váyu is then brought in repeating various stories, to rebuke his presumption, and establish the priestly pre-eminence. When the earth, offended by king Anga who wished to present it to the Bráhmans as a sacrificial fee, was about to depart in a pet to the world of Brahmá, the sage Kashyapa (a Bráhman) entered into her, and she became replenished with grass and plants, and then did obeisance to Kashyapa, and became his daughter. Angiras made a potation of the waters, and then filled the whole earth with a great flood.

* Muir's Texts, i. pp. 162-63. M. Bh. xiii. v. 3960, et seq.

† See Muir's Texts, i. pp. 152-53.

Gautama cursed Purandara (the god Indra) for an evil-affection for his wife Ahalya, and yet escaped injury by his daring. The Bráhmans made the ocean salt by their curse. Aurva alone destroyed the great Kshatriya family of the Tálajanghas. Agni himself is a Bráhman, receiving the offerings of the whole world. Utathya called the god Varuṇa a "robber," for carrying off his wife; and in his rage compelled restitution by drinking up all the sea, of which Varuṇa (in his modern aspects) is supposed to be the guardian. Agastya protected the gods from the enraged Asuras and Dánavas, when they appealed to him for protection; and expelling the Dánavas from heaven made them fly to the south. Vasishṭha, on another occasion, also protected the gods, including Indra, from the Dánavas, all of whom he burnt up. Atri, too, protected the gods from their enemies. Chayavana, the powerful, forced Indra to drink the Soma with the Ashvins, frightening him by a fearful monster, named Mada, which he created for the occasion. When Indra and the gods had fallen into the mouth of this Mada, and thus lost heaven; and when the demon Kapas had deprived them of the earth, they betook themselves, on the advice of Brahmá, to the Bráhmans, who hurled forth their fires and destroyed Kapas. Given the truth of all these stories, we need not wonder at Arjuna saying, "I live altogether and always for the Bráhmans: I am devoted to the Bráhmans, and do obeisance to them continually."* How suitable to the omnipotent sons of Brah-

* M. Bh. xiii. 7187-7353. See Muir's Texts, i. pp. 163-169. These stories of the Mahábhárata are similar to those to which we have referred at pp. 23-25 of this work.

mā would have been the counsel of the poet Cowper:—

‘Beware of too sublime a sense’
Of your own worth and consequence.
The man who dreams himself so great,
And his importance of such weight,
That all around in all that’s done
Must move and act for Him alone,
Will learn in school of tribulation
The folly of his expectation.

(14.) In the *Ashvamedha*, or Horse-Sacrifice Parva, we have some valuable geographical information given in connexion with the wandering of the horse previous to its being presented to the god Indra; but its indications we have already noticed on the authority of Professor Lassen.*

In the latter Parvas we have not found any information respecting Caste worthy of abstracting, though their tone is altogether consistent with its spirit.†

Having given, as we have passed along, most of the legends respecting Parashurāma and the destruction of the Kshatriyas, we may turn back to a notice of a renewed race of Kshatriyas, said to have been produced by the intercourse of Brāhmans with Kshatriya women. At this time, it is added, the Brāhmanical faith was well observed, *the Brāhmans being well instructed in the Védas, their Angas, and the Upanishads; the Kshatriyas being liberal in their Dakshina to Brāhmans; the Vaishyas cultivating their fields without cows (i. e., only by bullocks;) the Shúdras not presuming to pronounce the Védas; and all the Castes (*Varnas*) following their dis-

* See before, pp. 245, et seq.

† For a reference to Gokarna, Prabhāsa, and Dvāravatī, etc., see M. Bh. xiv. v. 2477, et seq.

tinctive works.* The general doctrine of orthodox Hindus is that the Kshatriyas as a body have disappeared. The probable reason of this allegation, as we have already hinted, was the countenance given by the Kshatriyas to the Buddhist heresy. The spread of this heresy gave an importance and expansion among the Bráhmans to the legends about Parashuráma which they did not originally possess ; and that very much to the annoyance of the professing Kshatriyas of the present day, who are very unwilling to have their desired position in the Indian community in any way questioned.

In no work of the classical literature of the Hindus has so much been done, by interpolations and apocryphal additaments, to uphold Caste as in the Mahábhárata. That large work, with its numerous didactic episodes and interludes, is as great a strong-hold of Caste as any of the Indian law-books, to which, from its references to them, it is obvious that large portions of it are posterior. It may be characterized as the great fountain of Indian popular instruction. Its influence exceeds that of all the Puráṇas put together, though they themselves to a considerable extent harmonize with it. The provincial poetry,—as that of the Maráthás,—continually draws from its almost inexhaustible stores. Most injurious is the common idea formed of it by the Hindus, that the bulk of it is veritable history as well as exciting and amusing poetry. A translation of the whole of it into English is certainly a desideratum. Notwithstanding the care bestowed on the edition of the text printed at Calcutta, a collation of the older manuscripts is also a desideratum.†

* M. Bh. i. v. 2458, et seq.

† A lithographed edition of the work is in the press in Bombay.

VII.—THE BUDDHIST VIEW OF CASTE.

On entering on this subject, it is necessary for us to mark the present stage of our chronological advancement. We view Dr. Max Müller's date of the Sūtra period, —from 600-200 before Christ,—as correct enough for general practical purposes. It is abundantly evident from the notices which we have given, from even the earliest of this series of works, that the Caste system had reached its maturity when they were prepared. It is also manifest from the Aranyakas and Upanishads, that even before this time, Indian speculation, in which it is admitted on all hands Buddhism originated, had made considerable progress. With Caste, then, Buddhism had to deal. Its peculiar treatment of this institution, as we shall immediately see, was one of the principal causes of its rapid establishment in India. Buddhism in its most important social aspect was a reaction against Caste, the tyranny of which multitudes had begun to feel to be unbearable, though previous to its origin they had considered themselves unable to assail the religious foundations on which it was supposed to rest. The Bráhmans, the inventors and guardians of Caste, had up to the time of Buddha been nearly omnipotent in Indian society.

The word *Buddha* is not a name, but an appellative. It means the "intelligent-one," or the party possessed of intelligence (in the sense of omniscience). The proper name of the individual on whom it is conferred is unknown, as is the case with those of not a few of the most celebrated of the Hindu religionists. Other common denominations of Buddha were *Shákya Muni*, the Sage of the Shákya

tribe; *Shákya Prabhu*, the Shákya Lord; *Shákya Sinha*, the Shákya Lion (or majestic one); *Prabhu Gautama*, the distinguished one of the Gautama family; *Bhagavat*, the worshipful one, emphatically so called; *Siddhárta*, the one who has obtained perfection; and *Tathágata*, the one who has passed (into total liberation or extinction).*

Buddha (who is represented by his followers as having a pre-existent heavenly state obtained by his merits in former births) belonged originally to the Kshatriya Caste, of the early influence of which in Indian speculation we have already seen some notices.† His father was Shuddhodana, the king of Kapilavastu or Kapilapura,‡ “the estate of Kapila” or “city of Kapila,” probably so named from its proximity to what may have been the hermitage of the Rishi Kapila, the reputed founder of the Sāṅkhya or Numeral System of the Indian Schoolmen, to certain of whose doctrines some of those of Buddha bear a considerable resemblance. His mother, Mâyá or Mâyádéví, daughter of king Suprabuddha,§ is said to have died seven days after

* Lalita Vistara, in mult loc.

† See before, pp. 239-240, “Kumáñila [the commentator on the *Mimáṃsá*] always speaks of Buddha as a Kshatriya who tried to become a Bráhmaṇa.” Müller’s *Hist. of Sans. Lit.* p. 79.

‡ Lalita Vistara, adh. xii. xv. xvi. *Life of Shákya* by A. Csoma Körösi, in *As. Res.* vol. xx. pp. 286, et seq.

§ “There was a consultation again among the gods in what form *Bodhisatta* should enter into the womb or body of the woman whom he had chosen to become his mother. A young elephant with six adorned trunks, such as has been judged proper in Brahmanical works, was preferred. He therefore leaving *Tushita* [said to be a heaven] descends, and in the form of an elephant, enters by the right side or cavity of the body of Mâyádéví, the wife of Shuddhodana.” “The child came out by her right side.” See A. Csoma Körösi, *ut sup.*

his birth. He was reared under the care of her sister, Gautamí. His early days gave indications of future promise; and many extravagant and incongruous legends connected with them are related by his followers. In his youth, it is said, he was put to school (*shálálipi*, hall-of-writing), where he greatly astonished his master, who was named Vishvámitra, by his knowledge of sixty kinds of writing, terrene and celestial.* The party chosen for him as a wife was Gopá, the daughter of Daṇḍápāṇi, like himself of the Shákya race, for she is often spoken of as the Shákya Kanya (daughter, or lady).† Two other spouses were given to him according to the Tibetan accounts. By one of his wives, the name of whom is variedly given in the Buddhist writings,‡ he had a son named Ráhula. Marriage did not in his case interfere with the meditation and reflection to which he was early addicted. At the age of twenty-nine he renounced the world, deeply affected by its prevailing miseries. He

* At the time of Buddha's birth, literal writing was probably not practised by the Indians, though it was in use somewhat before the third century before Christ. See Author's *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, pp. 34-36; and, more particularly, Max Müller's *Hist. of Anc. S. Lit.* pp. 497-524. Among the kinds of writing said to be known to Buddha, were those of *Anga* (the Bhagalpur territories), *Banga* (Bengal), *Magadha*, *Dravida*, and *Kindrí* (or Kanadi, the Canarese country?), the *Dakshina*, the *Ugra*, the *Darda*, the *Kashya*, the *China*, the *Huna*, the *Uttara-Kuru*, the *Apara-Gandha*, the *Eāstern-Vidēha*. Lalita-Vistara, adh. x. (Cal. ed. pp. 143-144). Csoma Körösi (*As. Res.* xx. p. 290) mentions the lipi of the *Yavanas*, (or Greeks) as one of those known to Buddha; but that is not specified in the Calcutta edition of the Lalita-Vistara.

† Lal. Vist. adh. xii.

‡ Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 164. Mahavanso, p. 9. *As. Res.* xx. p. 200.

became the pupil of a Bráhmaṇ at Vaishálí, and afterwards of another famous Bráhmaṇ at Rájagriha, the capital of Magadha. Simple austerities, however, were not to his taste. With five of his fellow-disciples he retired into solitude near the village of Uravélaya (afterwards Buddhagaya), where for six years he resided, maturing his own peculiar system of faith. Varanasi, or Benares, was the next place which enjoyed the light of his presence. He was afterwards invited by king Bimbisára to Rájagriha, at which place and in its neighbourhood he is said to have discoursed to his disciples, teaching them the misery of birth and the desirableness of its termination. It was perhaps the favour extended to him by Bimbisára which led to the murder of that king, by his son Ajátashatru. From Rájagriha he went to Shrávastí, the capital of Kosala, where he lived and lectured in a distinctive building erected for him and his disciples by an opulent merchant named Anáthapiṇḍáda, and where he succeeded in the conversion to his faith of Prasénajita, the king of that locality. After twelve years' absence he visited his native place, on which occasion his own tribe professed their adherence to his doctrines. His own wife and aunt (his foster-mother) are said to have been the first of his female disciples and devotees. He afterwards revisited Rájagriha, where he could ultimately claim Ajátashatru as a disciple. He also revisited Vaishálí; and at about the age of seventy-five he died in a forest near Kushinagara, to which city he had been bending his footsteps. His death occurred according to Professor Lassen in the year 543, and according to Dr. Max Müller, in the year 477, before Christ.*

* For a review of the question of the date of Buddha's death, see Müller's *Hist. of S. Lit.* pp. 260, et seq. (which contains the references

The doctrines of Buddha, metaphysically viewed, were of an atheistic character, as, like Kapila, his predecessor, he denied that there is any proof of the existence of a creative and superintending providence, and resolved all the objects, combinations, organizations, and phenomena, which indicate divine volition, design, creation, adaptation, and guidance, into mere nature, proximity, development, and growth.* He was an indeavouring speculatist; but as an instructor he was aided by concurrent circumstances, and produced a greater effect on the mind and practice of India, and through his disciples on the adjoining countries, than any other of India's sons. This effect was not so much the result of his negative spiritual and metaphysical teaching,—denying the existence of Deity, and holding out as the summum bonum after death, *nirvāṇa*.—the extinction of being, or as some writers are inclined to believe, the extinction of conscious being, at death,†—but of his moral and

to Lassen) and Goldstücker's *Manava Kalpa Sūtra*, Introduction, p. 230-234. Mr. Tournour (*Mahavanso*, Introduction, p. xlviii.), was aware of the difficulty of fixing the date of Buddha's death, though he decides, as Lassen afterwards did, in favour of the Ceylon authorities. [As this sheet is passing through the press, I observe that a paper on the date of the death of Buddha (*Ueber Buddha's Todesjahr und einige andere Zeitpunkte in der älteren Geschichte Indiens*) has just been published by my learned friend, Professor Westergaard, K. D. of Copenhagen. He makes that event to have occurred between 368-370, B. C.]

* For the principles of the School of Kapila, see the "*Sāṅkhya Aphorisms of Kapila* (text, translation and paraphrase) by Dr. Ballantyne; and the *Sāṅkhya Pravachana Bhāṣya* by Vijnāna Bhikṣhu (text), with a valuable introduction by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall.

† *Nirvāṇa* is a participial noun formed from *vá*, (to blow, as the wind) with the negative affix *nir*. It may mean *non-agitation*, as well

social teachings, which were superior, in some respects, to those of his predecessors and contemporaries. What was his treatment of Caste? is the question with which at present we have to do.

For an answer to this question we must refer to the traditional records of his own teachings and those of his early disciples, which, though full of exaggerations and inventions, yet afford a small residuum of historical matter to the critical and philosophical reader; and to the wondrous monuments of the faith which he established which are to be found throughout India, especially in the Western parts of the Dakhan. Copies of these Buddhist records, in the Sanskrit language and Tibetan translations, were discovered and collected by one of India's most accomplished scholars (both as a linguist and a naturalist) and most able and public-spirited administrators, B. H. Hodg-

as *extinction* in which sense (with a good array of authority) it is interpreted by Burnouf, Lassen, etc. The word in its technical meaning is used by the Jaina disputants of the North-West of India principally for absolute and undisturbable non-conscious quiescence. The difference between this idea and that of extinction is but very slight. One of the most interesting groups of hewn-figures at the Caves of Ajantá, of gigantic dimensions, represents the death of Buddha. "The sage in the scene is lying in a horizontal position. His earthly servants, standing round his couch, are overcome with sorrow and grief, while a band of heavenly choristers above is frantic with joy at the supposed liberation or extinction of his spirit." Author's Remarks on the Buddhist Excavations of Western India prefixed to Johnson's Photographs of the Caves of Kárlá, p. 5. No symbol of the departed spirit is seen in this group. Dr. Judson (see his Memoir by Dr. Wayland, ii. pp. 340-1) found nothing in the Buddhism of Barmah "to redeem the system from the charge of absolute atheism." "Dr. Judson also regarded the state of nighan (*nirvāna*) as nothing less than a total extinction of soul and body."

son, Esq., long Resident at the Court of Népál, who also directed attention to their interesting contents in a series of valuable papers given by him to the Asiatic Societies of India and Europe.* Copies of them, too, were, with princely liberality, presented by Mr. Hodgson to the Asiatic Societies of Bengal, Great Britain, and France. They bore their first fruits in Paris, through the zeal and perseverance of the late ingenious and learned Professor E. Burnouf, who made them the foundation of his “Introduction à l’Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien,” which was published in 1844, and who also translated into French, one of the most important of them, the *Saddharma Pañḍarīka*, or “Lotus de la Bonne Loi,” which left the press a short time after his lamented death. With the discovery of the Hodgson manuscripts, the researches in Tibet of Mr. Alexander Csoma Körösi,—whose Analysis of the Dulva (a portion of the great *Kah-Gyur*) and Notices of the Life of Shákya, appeared in the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Transactions in 1835 ; Schmidt’s translation of portions of the Buddhist canon of Mongolia; and the translation and publication of the Mahavanso of Ceylon, by the Hon. George Turnour, which appeared in 1837, were nearly concurrent. These interesting works have been followed by the translation from the Chinese of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrims Fahian and Hinen-Tsang in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, and in the seventh, centuries of the Christian era, by Remusat, Klaproth, Landress, and Julien ; by a translation from the Tibetan of a History of Buddha, by Foucaux ;

* These papers, fifteen in number, were collected by Mr. Hodgson, and republished by him at the Serampore press in 1841.

by the publication, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, of a portion of the Sanskrit *Lalita Vistara*, the Legendary Life of Buddha, edited by Babu Rájendralál Mitra; by the important works of the Rev. Spence Hardy on Eastern Monachism, and his Manual of Buddhism; by the able papers of the Rev. D. J. Gogerly of Ceylon; by the publication of the Páli text of the *Dhammapadam*, by Dr. Fausböll of Copenhagen; by various papers on the Buddhist antiquities of Western India, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society;* and by the learned treatises

* “ The following is a list of the papers treating of them (the Buddhist remains) which appear in our late proceedings, according to the dates which they bear. On the Ashoka inscriptions at Girnár by Captain G. LeG. Jacob and N. L. Westergaard, Esq. Brief account of the Minor Buddha Caves of Bédsa and Bhájá near Kárlá, by N. L. Westergaard. Mr. Prinsep's Correspondence with Dr. Burn on Indian Antiquities. Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Buddha and Jaina Religions, by James Bird, Esq. Correction of Errors in the Lithograph of the Girnár Inscriptions by Capt. LeGrand Jacob. Memoir on the Cave Temples and Monasteries and other Ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina remains of Western India, by John Wilson, D. D. Memorandum on some Buddhist Excavations near Karhád by H. B. E. Frere, Esq. Note on the Rock Inscriptions in the Island of Salsette by J. Stevenson, D. D. Second Memoir on the Cave-Temples and Monasteries, and other Ancient Remains of Western India, by John Wilson, D. D. Historical Names and Facts contained in the Kánheri Inscriptions, by J. Stevenson, D. D. On the Nasik Cave Inscriptions, by J. Stevenson, D. D. Buddhist Cave Temples in the Shukárs of Baital-Wadi and Daulatábád, by W. H. Bradley, Esq. Sahyádrí Inscriptions, by J. Stevenson, D. D. Description the Caves of Kalvi in Malwa, by E. Impey, Esq. Descriptive Notices of Antiquities in Sindh by H. B. E. Frere, Esq. All these papers are in addition to the well-known papers of Mr. Erskine, Colonel Sykes, and Captain Dangerfield, and contain important information with statements of opinion and speculation worthy of respectful attention. Other valuable

of Köppen and St. Hilaire. Ample material has thus been provided for a correct estimate of Buddhism in its general character and relationships, though other contributions to its elucidation will still be welcomed by the public.* There can now be but little doubt of the view which Buddha took of Indian Caste.

papers on the matters to which I now refer, especially by Dr. Stevenson and the Messrs. West, have been laid before the Society."—Author's Review of the Present State of Oriental, Antiquarian, and Geographical Research connected with the West of India in *Journ. B. B. R. A. S.* 1856. Since this article appeared, the transcript of the Kanheri Inscriptions by the Messrs. West has been published in the *Bombay Journal* for 1862. Dr. Bháu Dâji is reviewing them and others in a series of ingenious and learned papers. It is hoped that by degrees their contents will be fully ascertained.

* Of the Buddhist writings the following is a correct summary view by Professor H. H. Wilson.

"According to the Buddhists themselves, the doctrines of Shákya Muni were not committed to writing by him, but were orally communicated to his disciples, and transmitted in like manner by them to succeeding generations. When they were first written is not clearly made out from the traditions of the North ; but they agree with those of the South in describing the occurrence of different public councils or convocations at which the senior Buddhist priest corrected the errors that had crept into the teaching of heterodox disciples and agreed upon the chief points of discipline and doctrine that were to be promulgated. The first of these councils was held, it is said, immediately after Shákya Muni's death ; the second 110, and the third 218 years afterwards, or about 246 B. C. The Northern Buddhists confound apparently the second and third councils, or take no notice of the latter in the time of Ashoka, but placed the third in Kashmir under the patronage of Kanishka or Kameka, one of the Hindu-Sythic Kings, 400 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa or B. C. 153. Both accounts agree that the propagation of Buddhism, by Missions dispatched for that purpose, took place after the third council.

Buddha found the system of Indian caste in existence and vigorous operation, when he commenced his studies and teachings. In the oldest works of his disciples which treat of his life and doctrines, the first castes,—of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Śhúdras,—are frequently mentioned, and often in opposition to the Chāṇḍálas, who are introduced as representatives of the non-Brahmanical classes. The Bráhmans are generally alluded to as *de facto* superior to the other classes in status, learning, religious practice, and austerities. They are recognized as acquainted with the four Védas; as in possession of the *mantras*, or holy words; as the dispensers and conductors of sacred rites to princes and peoples; as Bráhmans by birth (*Játi-Bráhmaṇáh*) and Bráhmans by learning (*Vēda-Bráhmaṇáh*); as resorting to agriculture only in times or circumstances of distress; as practising astrology and soothsaying; and as receiving gifts of goods, treasure,

“According to the traditions which are current in the South as well as the North, the classification of the Buddhist authorities as the Tri-pithaka (the three collections) took place at the first council, the portion termed *Sátra* the doctrinal precepts, being compiled by Ananda; the *Vinaya*, or discipline of the priesthood, by Upáli; and the *Abhi-dharma* or philosophical portions by Káshyapa, all three Buddha's disciples. Their compilations were revised at the second council, and were finally established as canonical at last. Their being compiled, however, does not necessarily imply their being written, and according to the Northern Buddhists, they were not committed to writing until after the convocation in Kashmir, or 153 B. C.; while the Southern authorities state, that they were preserved by memory for 450 years, and were then first reduced to writing in Ceylon.”—Journ. of R. A. S. vol. xvi. p. 239. In the paper from which this extract is made, Professor Wilson expresses his doubt of the system of the Buddhists having had any specific founder. Shákya Muni, he is inclined to consider only a mythical personage.

and land for their services. The Kshatriyas, with whom, as we have already seen, Buddha himself was connected, are noticed as a governing class ; and most of the more important of them embraced the system of faith and practice of which he was the parent, and used their influence in behalf of that system, even to the humiliation of the Bráhmans. Other Castes, such as those of the Vénukaras, Rathakáras, Pukkasas, Barbaras, Ahírs, or Herdsmen, are viewed in the writings, to which we refer, as inferior both in station and privilege to the Bráhmans and Kshatriyas. The Buddhist Sútras, too, recognize the duty, or custom, of each person to marry in his own caste, and to follow the profession of his ancestors. They ascribe baseness and elevation of birth to sin practised or to merit accumulated in former births, according to the prevailing doctrine of the metempsychosis. Yet, the Lalita Vistara, in giving an account of the choice of a wife for Buddha by his father Shuddhodana, represents the father, as giving instructions that the wife should be chosen, according to her qualities, from either a Bráhman, a Kshatriya, a Vaishya, or a Shúdra family.* This work, however, was probably composed, only little more than a century before the Christian era.

“ While society was in this state,”—to quote from M. E. Burnouf,—“ there was born in one of the families of the Kshatriyas, that of the Shákyas of Kapilavastu, which professed to be descended from the Solar race of Kings, a young prince who at the age of twenty-nine renounced the world, and became a devotee under the name of *Shákya Muni*, or *Shraman Gautama*. His doctrine

* Lalita Vistara, adh. xii. (p. 159, Calc. ed.)

which according to the [Buddhist] Sūtras was more moral than metaphysical, at least in its principle, rested on an opinion admitted as a fact, and upon a hope presented as a certainty. The opinion was that the visible world is in a state of perpetual change ; that death succeeds life, and life death ; that man, as well as all that surrounds him, revolves in an eternal circle of transmigration ; that he passes in succession through all the varieties of life from the most elementary to the most perfect ; that the place which he occupies in the vast scale of living beings depends on the merit of the actions he performs in the world, and that thus the virtuous man is to be reborn after death with a divine body and the wicked with a degraded body ; that the rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell are only for a limited period, like the things of this world ; that time exhausts the merit of virtuous actions as it effaces the faults of the wicked ; and that the fated law of change extends over the world, over the gods, and over the damned (in hell). The hope which Shákya Muni gave to men was the possibility of escaping this law of change, by entering into what is called *nirvāṇa*, that is to say, annihilation. The positive sign of this annihilation was death ; but a prevenient sign announced in this life the man predestined to this supreme deliverance ; it was the possession of unlimited knowledge, which enabled him to see the world with all its moral and physical laws ; and to sum up all in a single word, it was the practice of the six transcendental perfections—almsgiving, morality, knowledge, energy, patience, and charity. The authority on which the devotee of the race of Shákya rested his teaching was entirely personal, and was formed of two

elements, the one real, and the other ideal. The first was the regularity and sanctity of his conduct, of which chastity, patience, and charity formed the principal features. The second was the claim he had to be a Buddha, that is Enlightened [rather The-endowed-with-intelligence], and consequently possessed of superhuman knowledge and power. By his power he wrought miracles; by his knowledge he called up before himself the past and the future in a clear and complete form. By it he could tell what any man had done in a previous state of existence; and he affirmed that an infinite number of beings had like himself already attained by the practice of the same virtues to the dignity of a Buddha before entering into a state of complete annihilation. In fine, he presented himself to men as their Saviour, and promised that his death should not be the annihilation of his doctrine, but that that doctrine should continue for a great number of ages after him, and that when its salutary influence should cease, a new Buddha, whom he announced by name, should come into the world, who before having to descend to the earth had, according to the legends, consecrated himself in heaven to be a future Buddha.”*

The same distinguished orientalist from whom we have now quoted thus more particularly notices the view taken by Buddha of Indian society, and the modifications which he introduced into it in connexion with Caste. “His avowed aim was to save men from the miserable conditions of existence which they found in this world, and to free them from the fated law of transmigration. He ad-

* Burnouf, *Introduit. à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, i. pp. 152-53. His references in proof are to the *Lalita Viṣṭara*, fol. 25 of his MS. and to the *Life of Shákhyā* in *As. Res.* vol. xx. p. 287.

mitted that the practice of virtue ensured to a good man a future sojourn in heaven, and the enjoyment of a better existence. But no one viewed this as a definitive state of well-being: to become a god was to be born again in order one day to die ; and the object was to escape for ever the necessity of being born again and dying. The distinction of Castes was in the view of Shákya an accident in the existence of men here below—an accident which he recognized, but could not prevent. This is why the Castes appear in all the Sútras and legends which I have read as an established fact, against which Shákya does not make a single political objection. This was so much the case, that when a party attached to the service of a prince wished to embrace the life of a devotee, Shákya did not receive him till the prince had given his consent.” [This is illustrated by a legend from the Avadána Shataka]. “This respect of Shákya for the royal authority has left its traces even on modern Buddhism ; and it is one of the fundamental rules for the ordination of a Devotee or Mendicant [*Bhikshu*], that he should reply in the negative to the question, Art thou in the service of the king ?* Shákya admitted, then, the

* [One of the questions asked (in Páli) at the candidate for admission into the order of Devotee (*Bhikshu*) is नसो राजभट्टो—Thou art not a soldier-of-the king? The reply is, आम भन्ते—I am not, O venerable-ones. See Kammavākhyā, edited by Dr. Spiegel, p. 5. The novice is exhorted, according to this formula of initiation, to eat the food left by others except on particular occasions ; to wear chiefly garments dyed with clay ; to dwell usually at the roots of trees ; to use cow's urine as a medicament, and only occasionally ghí, butter, oil, honey, and sugar ; to abstain altogether from intercourse with women ; to abstain from stealing, even that of a leaf ; to abstain from killing animals, etc.]

hierarchy of Castes ; he even explained it, as did the Bráhmans, by the theory of punishments and rewards ; and as often as he instructed a man of low condition, he did not fail to attribute the baseness of his birth to the sins he had committed in a former life. To convert a man of whatever condition, then, was in the view of Shákya to give him the means of escaping from transmigration." " Shákya opened, then, to all castes without distinction the way of salvation, from which their birth had before excluded the greater number ; and he made them equal among themselves, and in his own estimation, by conferring upon them investiture with the rank of Devotees. In this last respect he went much further than the philosophers Kapila and Patanjali, who had begun a work somewhat resembling that which the Buddhists afterwards accomplished. By attacking as useless the works prescribed by the Véda, and by substituting for them the practice of personal asceticism, Kapila had placed within the reach of all, in principle at least if not in reality, the title of Ascetic, which previous to that time had been the distinction and almost exclusive privilege of the life of a Bráhman. Shákya did more than this : he gave to isolated philosophers the organization of a religious body. We thus find the explanation of two facts, the facility with which Buddhism must have been originally propagated, and the opposition which Bráhmanism naturally made to its progress. The Bráhmans had no objections to make to Shákya so long as he restricted himself to work out as a philosopher the future deliverance of man, and to assure him of the liberation which I have already characterized as absolute.

But they could not admit the possibility of that actual deliverance, that relative liberation which tended to nothing short of the destruction in a given time, of the subordination of Castes as regarded religion. This is how Shákya attacked the foundation of the Indian system, and it indicates that a time could not fail to come, when the Bráhmans placed at the head of that system, would feel the necessity of proscribing a doctrine of which the consequences could not escape them.”*

It is evident from all this,—which is perfectly consistent with what is found in the oldest Buddhist Sûtras and legends,—that Shákya Muni did not directly oppose the state of matters religious and social which he found to exist in Indian society. He thought that he had found out a better and shorter way to get rid of the evils of life; and he brought his own plan to notice in the most effective manner. He became himself, as we have seen, an ascetic; and he strove by strictness and purity of life, more than by harshness of discipline, to become the best of ascetics, and to elevate himself to a moral position, superior even to that of the *Tírthyas* or dwellers at holy places, and the most ascetic of the Bráhmans. His tenets and practices he brought conspicuously to notice by the public preaching of himself and his disciples, avoiding that monopoly of knowledge and instruction to which the Bráhmans had laid claim. All classes of society, without any peculiar privilege from Caste, were invited to join the orders which he established, with the full expectation of receiv-

* Burnouf, ut sup. i. pp. 210-212.

ing their highest advantages. He disparaged and eschewed, though he did not directly condemn, a hereditary priesthood. He pretended, if we may believe his followers, to work miracles, and to be himself a miracle of knowledge. He carried his sympathies, too, much farther beyond the human family than had been done before his day. He interdicted all animal sacrifice, and all slaying of animals even for the purpose of food, ordering the rules of eating and drinking so as to make them accord with this object. Aided by numerous associates and by some of the most powerful of the Indian princes, he effected a revolution in Indian society. Multitudes made him their leader; his system gained a political importance, particularly through Ashoka the grandson of Chandragupta (the Sandracottus of the Greeks); and his faith, through the zeal of his adherents, and the notice which its wondrous structural buildings and excavations (then novelties in India) attracted, became predominant in India for ages, and was carried to other lands, where it still exists though not with its pristine vigour. Even the forest tribes of India, as may be seen from the ornamental figures of the cave-temples and monasteries of Western India, are represented as joyfully doing him homage. Denying the existence of the Divinity, he made himself, or suffered himself to be made, a god. His images, through the efforts of his followers, soon filled the temples, the gods of the Hindu pantheon being thence banished, or there appearing as subordinate to himself. His way became more glorious than that of the Brāhmans in the eyes of the multitude, the *Shramana*

taking the precedence of the *Bráhmāna*.* Though some Bráhmans became his willing pupils, the Bráhmanical body soon appeared in opposition to him. His followers in their turn began to oppose the Bráhmans, and ultimately placed themselves to them in an attitude of unmitigated hostility. The strife continued, even during the ages of Buddhist ascendancy. The Bráhman power, as will be onwards noticed, ultimately proved victorious within the bounds of India proper.

The final attitude of Buddhism to Caste cannot be better illustrated than by the Buddhist tract attributed to Ashva Ghoshā. This witty production was discovered by Mr. Hodgson in Népál in 1829. "A few days since," (he writes in July 11th, 1829), "my learned old Bauddha friend brought me a little tract in Sanskrit, with such an evident air of pride and pleasure, that I immediately asked him what it contained. 'Oh, my friend,' was his reply, 'I have been long trying to procure for you this work, in the assurance that you must highly approve the wit and wisdom contained in it; and after many applications to the owner, I have at length obtained the loan of it for three or four days. But I cannot let you have it or even a copy of it, such being the conditions on which I procured you a sight of it.' These words of my old friend stimulated my curiosity, and with a few fair words I engaged the old gentleman to lend me and my pandit his aid in making a translation of it." This

* The designation of Shramana (a practiser of *shrama*, toil or austerity) does not necessarily mean a Buddhist devotee; but as opposed to Bráhmāna, it has this meaning, in which it always occurs in the Buddhist writings.

translation appeared in the third volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was afterwards reprinted in Mr. Hodgson's "Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists." I have compared it throughout with a manuscript of the original, presented to me by the late L. Wilkinson, Esq., a most able and zealous member of the Bombay Civil Service; and found it to be both sufficiently accurate, and spirited.* I here give it a place, interpolating a few explanations and adding a few notes. The Buddhist author, it must be borne in mind, reasons *ex concessu* throughout, from what he supposes to be the Bráhmaṇical writings.

Vajra Shúchí.

"I, Ashva Ghosha first invoking Manju Ghosha,† the Guru of the world, with all my soul and all my strength, proceed to compose the book called *Vajra Shúchí* [the Adamantine Needle] in according with the Shástras [or rather, established opinion, *Mata*]."

Allow then that your Védas and Smritis, and works involving both *Dharma* and *Artha*‡ are good and valid, and that discourses at variance with them are invalid, still what you say that the Bráhmaṇ is the highest of the four Castes, cannot be proved from these books.

Tell me first of all what is Brahmanhood? Is it life, or parentage,§ or body, or wisdom, or the way [rather practice, *achára*] or acts i. e. that is morality (*karma*), or the Védas (learning in the Védas).

If you say that it is life (*jíva*), such an assertion cannot be reconciled with the Védas; for it is written in the Védas that the sun and

* The *Vajra Shúchí* was printed by Mr. Wilkinson in 1839, with an acute but sophistical comment on it by Subájí Bápu.

† [Probably a Buddhist sage. See Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 509.]

‡ [*Dharma* (duty), *artha* (aim), *káma* (desire), and *moksha* (liberation), are the four objects of human existence, according to Hínduism.]

§ [In the MS. sent to me by Mr. Wilkinson the word for this (given onwards as *játi*, or birth, rather than parentage) is omitted.]

the moon, and other deities, were at first quadrupeds ; and some other deities were first animals and afterwards became gods ; even the vilest of the vile (*shvapāka*) have become gods.* From these words it is clear that Brāhmanhood is not life (*jīva*), a position which is further proved from these words of the (Mahā) Bhārata : seven hunters and ten deer of the hill Kālinjala, a goose of the lake Mānasa-sara, a Chakravāka of the Sharadvīpa, all these were born as Brāhmaṇs in the *Kurukshētra* (near Delhi), and became very learned in the Vēdas. It is also said by Manu in his Dharmashāstra, “ Whatever Brāhman learned in the four Vēdas with their Angas and Upāngas, shall take charity [fees or gifts] from a Shūdra, shall for twelve births be an ass, and for sixty births a hog, and seventy births a dog.† From these words it is clear that Brahmanhood is not life ; for if it were, how could such things be ?

If, again, you say that Brāhmanhood depends on parentage or birth (*jāti*), that is, that to be a Brāhman one must be born of Brāhman parents,—this notion is at variance with the known passage of the Smṛiti, that Achala Muni was born of an elephant, and Kūsha Pīngala of an owl, and Agastya Muni from the Agasti flower, and Kausika Muni from the Kusha grass, and Kapila from a monkey, and Gautama Rishi from a creeper that entwined a Sāla tree, and Droṇa A'chārya from an earthen pot, and Taittiri Rishi from a partridge, and (Parashu) Rāma from dust, and Shringa Rishi from a deer, and Vyāsa Muni from a fisherwoman, and Kaushika Muni from a female Shūdra, and Vishvāmitra from a Chāndālī, and Vasīṣṭha Muni from a strumpet. Not one of them had a Brāhman mother, and yet all were notoriously called Brāh-

* [The text of this passage is the following :—

ओम् । सूर्यः पशुरासति । सोमः पशुरासति ।

इन्द्रः पशुरासति । पशवे देवाः ।

आद्यन्ते देवाः पशवः । श्वाका अपि देवा भवन्ति ।

—literally, The Sun was an animated being [or the (great) Soul, according to the Vedāntists] ; the Moon was an animated being ; Indra was an animated being ; animated beings (were) the gods ; moreover, the gods were animated beings ; the dog-eaters were at first gods.]

† [The taking of gifts by Brāhmaṇs from Shūdras is forbidden in Manu, but not in the terms here alleged.]

mans; whence I infer, that the title is a distinction of popular origin, and cannot be traced to parentage from written authorities.*

Should you again say, that whoever is born of a Bráhmán father or mother is a Bráhmán, then the child of a slave [Dása] even may become a Bráhmán; a consequence to which I have no objection, but which will not consort with your notions, I fancy.

Do you say that he who is sprung of Bráhmán parents is a Bráhmán? Still I object that, since you must mean pure and true Bráhmáns, in such case the breed of Bráhmáns must be at an end; since the fathers of the parent race of Bráhmáns are not, any of them, free from the suspicion of having wives, who notoriously commit adultery with Shúdras. Now, if the real father be a Shúdra, the son cannot be a Bráhmán, notwithstanding the Brahmanhood of his mother. From all which I infer that Brahmanhood is not truly derivable from birth; and I draw fresh proofs of this from the Mánava Dharma, which affirms that the Bráhmán who eats flesh loses instantly his rank; and also, that by selling wax, or salt, or milk, he becomes a Shúdra in three days; and further, that even such a Bráhmán as can fly like a bird directly ceases to be a Bráhmán by meddling with the fleshpots. From all this is it not clear that Brahmanhood is not the same with birth? since, if that were the case, it could not be lost by any acts however degrading. Knew you ever of a flying horse that by alighting on earth was turned into a pig?—'Tis impossible.

Say you that body (*sharíra*) is the Brahman? this too is false; for, if body be the Bráhmán, then fire, when the Bráhmán's corpse is consumed by it, will be the murderer of a Bráhmán; and such also will be every

* [When such absurdities as those mentioned in this paragraph found entrance into the more modern Indian legendry (in which they still occupy a place), it is difficult to say. Some things resembling them occur in the *Digvarga* of the *Amara-kosha*, probably of the first century of the Christian era. *Agastya*, for example, is there called *Kumbhasambhava*, produced from a jar; *Aṅgiras* to be *Chitrashikhandīja*, born of a peacock; and *Aruna* to be *Garudágraja*, born of the beak of *Garuda* or the eagle. The whole is equivalent to what would be such conceits as that Lord Bacon was born of the loin of a pig; that Mr. Partridge, the able scientific visitor of Garibaldi, was born of the game bird of the same name; and that the learned Mr. Sheepshanks was born of the trotter of a ram.]

one of the Bráhmaṇ's relatives who consigned his body to the flames. Nor less will this other absurdity follow, that every one born of a Bráhmaṇ, though his mother were a Kshatriya or a Vaishya, [or a Shúdra] would be a Bráhmaṇ—being bone of the bone, and flesh of the flesh of his father, a monstrosity, you will allow, that was never heard of. Again, are not performing sacrifice, and causing others to perform it, reading and causing to read, receiving and giving charity, and other holy acts, sprung from the body of the Bráhmaṇ? Is then the virtue of all these destroyed by the destruction of the body of a Bráhmaṇ? Surely not, according to your own principles; and, if not, then Brahmanhood cannot consist in body.

Say you that wisdom* constitutes the Bráhmaṇ? This too is incorrect. Why? Because, if it were true, many Shúdras must have become Bráhmaṇs from the great wisdom they acquired. I myself know many Shúdras who are masters of the four Védas, and of philology, and of the Mīmāṃsá, and Sāṅkhya, and Vaishéshika and Jyotishika philosophies; yet not one of them is or ever was called a Bráhmaṇ. It is clearly proved, then, that Brahmanhood consists not in wisdom or learning.

Then do you affirm that the A'chára is Bráhmaṇhood? This too is false; for if it were true, many Shúdras would become Bráhmaṇs; since many Nátas and Bhatas, and Kaivartas, and Bhandas, and others, are everywhere to be seen performing the severest and most laborious acts of piety. Yet not one of these, who are all so pre-eminent in their A'chára, is ever called a Bráhmaṇ, from which it is clear that A'chára does not constitute the Bráhmaṇ.

Say you that *Karma* makes the Bráhmaṇ? I answer, no; for the argument used above applies here with even greater force, altogether annihilating the notion that acts constitute the Bráhmaṇ.

Do you declare that by reading the *Védas* a man becomes a Bráhmaṇ? This is palpably false; for it is notorious that the *Rákshasa* Ravana was deeply versed in all the four Védas [the Ríg-Véda, Yajurvéda, Sáma Véda, and Atharva Véda]; and that, indeed, all the *Rákshasas* studied the *Védas* in Ravana's time: yet you do not say

* Perhaps it should rather be translated learning. This word in the original is Jñāna.

that one of them thereby became a Bráhmaṇ. It is therefore proved that no one becomes a Bráhmaṇ by reading the *Védas*.

What then is this creature called a Bráhmaṇ? If neither reading the *Védas*, nor *sanskáras*, [sacraments,] nor parentage, nor race (*kula*), nor acts (*karma*), confers Brahmanhood, what does or can? To my mind Bráhmaṇhood is merely an immaculate quality, like the snowy whiteness of the Kundlia flower. That which removes sin is Brahmanhood. It consists of *Vrata* and *Tapa*, and *Niyama*, and *Upavása*, and *Dána*, and *Dama*, and *Shama*, and *Sanyama*. It is written in the *Védas* that the gods hold that man to be a Bráhmaṇ who is free from intemperance and egotism; and from *Sanga*, and *Parigraha*, and *Rága*, and *Dvésha*. Moreover, it is written in all the Shástras that the signs of a Bráhmaṇ are these, truth, penance, the command of the organs of sense, and mercy; as those of a Chándála are the vices opposed to those virtues. Another mark of the Bráhmaṇ is a scrupulous abstinence from sexual commerce, whether he be born a god, or a man, or a beast.* Yet further, Shukra (A'chárya) has said, that the gods take no heed of Caste, but deem him to be the Bráhmaṇ who is a good man although he belong to the vilest. From all which I infer, that birth, and life, and body, and wisdom, and observance of religious rites (A'chára), and acts (*Karma*), are all of no avail towards becoming a Bráhmaṇ.

Then again, that opinion of your sect, that *Pravrajyá* is prohibited to the Shúdra; and that for him service and obedience paid to Bráhmaṇs are instead of *Pravrajyá*,—because, forsooth, in speaking of the four castes, the Shúdra is mentioned last, and is therefore the vilest,—is absurd; for, if it were correct, Indra would be made out to be the lowest and meanest of beings, Indra being mentioned in the (*Paru*) *Sútra* after the dog, thus—" *Shva*, *Pura*, *Moghavan*."† In truth, the order in which they are mentioned or written, cannot affect the relative rank and dignity of the beings spoken of. What! is Párvati greater than Mahésha? or are the teeth superior in dignity to the lips, because we find the latter postponed to the

* [This is according to the Buddhist view. The Indian Bráhmaṇs have practised marriage from the earliest ages.]

† [A name of Indra in the *Védas*.]

former, for the mere sake of euphony in some grammar sentence? Are the teeth older than the lips; or does your creed teach you to postpone Shiva to his spouse? No; nor any more is it true that the Shúdra is vile, and the Bráhmaṇ high and mighty, because we are used to repeat the *Chatur Varna* [four castes], in a particular order. And if this proposition be untenable, your deduction from it, viz. that the vile Shúdra must be content to regard his service and obedience to Bráhmans as his only *Pravrajyá*,* falls likewise to the ground.

Know further, that it is written in the Dharma Shástra of Manu, that the Bráhmaṇ who has drank the milk of a Shúdraní, or has been even breathed upon by a Shúdraní, or has been born of such a female, is not restored to his rank by *Práyaschitta*.† In the same work it is further asserted, that if any Bráhmaṇ eat and drink from the hands of a Shúdraní, he becomes in life a Shúdra, and after death a dog. Manu further says, that a Brahman who associates with female Shúdras or keeps a Shúdra concubine, shall be rejected by gods and ancestors, and after death shall go to hell. From all these assertions of the Mánava Dharma, it is clear that Brahmanhood is nothing indefeasibly attached to any race or breed, but is merely a quality of good men. Further, it is written in the Shástra of Manu, that many Shúdras became Brahman by force of their piety; for example, Kathina Muni, who was born of the sacrificial flame produced by the friction of wood, became a Bráhmaṇ by dint of Tapa; and Vasishtha Muni born of the courtesan Urvashí, and Vyása Muni, born of a female of the fisherman's caste; and Rishiyashringa Muni, born of a doe; and Vishvámitra, born of a *Chandálmí*; and Nárada Muni, born of a female spiritseller; all these became Bráhmans by virtue of their Tapas. Is it not clear then Brahmanhood depends not on birth? It is also notorious that he who has conquered himself is a *Yati*; that he who performs penance is a *Tapasya*; and that he who observes the *Brahmacharya* is a Bráhmaṇ. It is clear then that he whose life is pure, and his temper cheerful, is the true Bráhmaṇ; and that lineage (*Kula*) has nothing to do with the matter. There are these *Shlokas* in the Mánava Dharma, "Goodness of disposition and purity are the best of all things; lineage is not alone deserving

* [*Shushrúsha*, service, in MS.]

† [*Nishkriti*, atonement, in MS.]

of respect. If the race be royal and virtue be wanting to it, it is contemptible and useless." Kathina Muni and Vyása Muni, and other sages, though born of Shúdras, are famous among men as Bráhmaus, and many persons born in the lowest ranks have attained to heaven by the practice of uniform good conduct (*shila*). To say therefore that the Bráhmau is of one particular race is idle and false.

Your doctrine, that the Bráhmau was produced from the mouth, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishya from the thighs, and the Shúdras from the feet, cannot be supported. Bráhmaus are not of one particular race. Many persons have lived who belonged to the *Kaivarta* [fisherman] *kula*, and the *Rajaka* [washerman] *kula*, and the *Chándála kula*, and yet, while they existed in this world, performed the *Chuda Karma* [head-shaving] and *Munj-bandhana* [tying-the-sacred-string], and [applying the] *Danta-Kúshthá* [tooth-rinsing-wood] and other acts appropriated to Bráhmaus, and after their deaths became, and still are, famous under the Bráhmau.

All that I have said about Bráhmaus you must know is equally applicable to Kshatriyas; and that the doctrine of the four castes is altogether false. All men are of one caste.

Wonderful ! you affirm that all men proceeded from one, i. e. Brahma; how then can there be a fourfold insuperable diversity among them? If I have four sons by one wife, the four sons having one father and mother must be all essentially alike. Know too that distinctions of race among beings are broadly marked by differences of conformations and organization; thus, the foot of the elephant is very different from that of the horse; that of the tiger unlike that of the deer; and so of the rest, and by that single diagnosis we learn that those animals belong to very different races. But I never heard that the foot of a Kshatriya was different from that of a Bráhmau, or that of a Shúdra. All men are formed alike, and are clearly of one race. Further, the generative organs, the colour, the figure, the ordure, the urine, the odour, and utterance of the ox, the buffalo, the horse, the elephant, the ass, the monkey, the goat, the sheep, etc. furnish clear diagnostics whereby to separate these various races of animals: but in all those respects the Bráhmau resembles the Kshatriya, and is therefore of the same race or species with him. I have instanced among quadrupeds the diversities which separate diverse genera. I now proceed to give some more instances from among birds. Thus,

the goose, the dove, the parrot, the peacock, etc. are known to be different by their diversities of figure, and colour, and plumage, and beak ; but the Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra are alike without and within. How then can we say they are essentially distinct ? Again, among trees, the Vata and Bakula, and Palísha and Ashoka, and Tamála, and Nágakéshara, and Shirísha and Champaka, and others, are clearly contradistinguished by their stems, and leaves, and flowers, and fruits, and barks, and timber, and seeds, and juices and odours ; but Bráhmans, and Kshatriyas, and the rest, are alike in flesh, and skins, and blood, and bones, and figure, and excrements, and mode of birth. It is surely then clear that they are of one species or race. Again, tell me, is a Brahman's sense of pleasure and pain different from that of the Kshatriya ? Does not the one sustain life in the same way, and find death from the same causes as the other ? Do they differ in intellectual faculties, in their actions, or the objects of those actions ; in the manner of their birth, or in their subjection to fear and hope ? not a whit.* It is therefore clear that they are essentially the same. In the Udumbara and Panasa trees the fruit is produced from the branches, the stem, the joints, and the roots.† Is one fruit therefore different from another, so that we may call that produced from the top of the stem the Bráhmaṇ fruit, and that from the roots the Shúdra fruit ? Surely not. Nor can men be of four distinct races, because they sprang from four different parts of one body. You say that the Bráhmaṇ was produced from the mouth ; whence was the Bráhmaṇi produced ? From the mouth likewise ? Grant it, and then you must marry the brother to the sister ! a pretty business indeed ! if such incest is to have place in this world of ours, all distinctions of right and wrong must be obliterated.

This consequence, flowing inevitably from your doctrine that the Brahman proceeded from the mouth, proves the falsity of that doctrine. The distinctions between Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, are founded merely on the observance of divers rites, and the practice

* [Mr. Hodgson justly says, "The manner in which our author treats this part of his subject, is, in my judgment admirable, and altogether worthy of a European mind. Indeed it bears the closest resemblance to the style of argument used by Shakespeare....in the Merchant of Venice : Hath not a Jew eyes, etc."]

† [The Udumbara is the *Ficus glomerata*; and the Panasa, the *Artocarpus integrifolia*.]

of different professions ; as is clearly proved by the conversation of Vaishampáyana Rishi with Yudhishthira Rájá, which was as follows : One day the son of Pandu, named Yudhishthira, who was the wise man of his age, joining his hands reverentially, asked Vaishampáyana, whom do you call a Bráhmaṇ ; and what are the signs of Brahmanhood ? Vaisham answered, the first sign of a Bráhmaṇ is, that he possesses long suffering and the rest of the virtues, and never is guilty of violence and wrong-doing ; that he never eats flesh ; and never hurts a sentient thing. The second sign is, that he never takes that which belongs to another without the owner's consent, even though he find it in the road. The third sign is, that he masters all worldly affections and desires, and is absolutely indifferent of earthly considerations. The fourth, whether he is born a man, or a god, or a beast, he never yields to sexual desires. The fifth that he possesses the following five pure qualities, truth, mercy, command of the senses, universal benevolence, and penance. * Whoever possesses these five signs of Bráhmaṇhood I acknowledge to be a Bráhmaṇ ; and, if he possess them not, he is a Shúdra. Bráhmaṇhood depends not on race (*Kula*) or birth, (*Játi*) nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a Chaudála is virtuous, and possesses the signs above noted, he is a Bráhmaṇ. Oh ! Yudhishthira, formerly in this world of ours there was but one caste. The division into four castes originated with diversity of rites and avocations. All men were born of woman in like manner. All are subject to the same physical necessities, and have the same organs and senses. But he whose conduct is uniformly good is a Bráhmaṇ ; and if it be otherwise he is a Shúdra ; aye, lower than a Shúdra. The Shúdra who, on the other hand, possesses these virtues is a Bráhmaṇ.

Oh, Yudhishthira ! If a Shúdra be superior to the allurements of the five senses, to give him charity is a virtue that will be rewarded in heaven. Heed not his caste, but only mark his qualities. Whoever in this life ever does well, and is ever ready to benefit others, spending his days and nights in good acts, such an one is a Bráhmaṇ ; and whoever, relinquishing worldly ways, employs himself solely in the

* The word in the original is *Tapas*, which we are accustomed to translate "penance," and I have followed the usage, though "ascetism" would be a better word. The proud *Tapas*, whom the very gods regard with dread, never dreams of contrition and repentance.

acquisition of Moksha, such an one also is a Brāhman; and whoever refrains from destruction of life, and from worldly affections, and evil acts, and is free from passion and backbiting, such an one also is a Brāhman; and whoso possesses *kshamā* [forgiveness], *dayā* [mercy], *damā* [subjection of the passions], *dāna* [liberality], *satya* [truthfulness], *shauchana* [purity], *smṛiti* [knowledge of law], *ghṛīṇā* [tenderness], *vidyā* [learning], and *vijnāna* [discernment], etc., is a Brāhman. Oh, Yudhishthira, if a person perform the Brahmachārya for one night, the merit of it is greater than that of a thousand sacrifices (Yajna). And whoso has read all the Vēdas, and performed all the Tīrthas, and observed all the commands and prohibitions of the Shāstra, such an one is a Brāhman! and whoso has never injured a sentient thing by act, word, or thought, such a person shall instantly be absorbed (at his death) in Brahma. Such were the words of Vaishampāyana. Oh, my friend, my design in the above discourse is, that all ignorant Brāhmans and others should acquire wisdom by studying it, and take to the right way. Let them, if they approve it, heed it; and if they approve it not, let them neglect its admonitions."

Of the time of the production of this curious and pungent tract, it is difficult to form an opinion. Mr. Hodgson says, "Who Ashva Ghoshā, the author, was, *when* he flourished and *where*, I cannot ascertain. All that is known of him at Népāl is, that he was a Maha-Paṇḍit, or great sage, and wrote, besides the little treatise now translated, two larger Bauddha works of high repute, the names of which are mentioned in a note."* Burnouf asks whether Ashva Ghoshā was the celebrated devotee, whose name is rendered in Chinese by *Ma ming* (the voice of a horse), and who according to the Japanese Encyclopædia, was the twelfth Buddhist patriarch after the death of Shākya Muni; or some more modern devotee of the same

* Buddha Charitra Kavya, and the Nandi Mukhasughoshā Avadāna, and other works. Hodgson's Ill. of Lit. and Rel. of the Buddhists, pp. 193-4.

name.* I am inclined to believe that the work has been long known, to a greater or less extent, even on the continent of India. Mr. Wilkinson obtained his copy of it from a Bráhmaṇ of the town of Násik, at Bhopál in Central India. The Rev. Dr. Glasgow lately sent me a catalogue of a deceased Bráhmaṇ's library offered for private sale. I observed in it an entrance—"The *Vajra Shúchí*"; and having asked this tract, and obtained it, through the kindness of my learned friend, I find that it professes to be the composition of the celebrated Shankara A'chárya (of the eighth century of the Christian era), the copy having been made in Samvat 1845—A. D. 1730. The first part of this Bráhmaṇic treatise is a brief memoriter summary of the argument of the Buddhist tract, as will appear from the following literal translation which I make of it.

Here the *Vajra Shúchí* [the Adamantine Needle] is written. Hari ! Om ! I begin to publish the Adamantine Needle, the piercer of the ignorance of the Shástra, the stigma of the destitute of knowledge, the ornament of the intelligent. That the Bráhmaṇ is the chief of the four castes (*Varna*), the Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra, is declared in the Védas, and is set forth by the Smritis. And this is the beginning. What is that which is called a Bráhmaṇ ? Is it life (*jíva*) ? Is it body (*déha*) ? Is it birth (*játi*) ? Is it colour (*varna*) ? Is it learning (*páṇḍitya*) ? Is it religion (*dharma*) ? Is it liberality (*dhármikya*) ? Is it works (*karma*) ? These are the eight objections (brought forward).

First, suppose that Life is the thing. Then, it being so, the form of life being the same in all men, life cannot be the Bráhmaṇ.

And, again, suppose the Bráhmaṇ to be Body. Then, from the disease and mortality apparent in the body of all men down to the Chándála, it is evident that body cannot be the Bráhmaṇ. Again, if body be the Bráhmaṇ, then from the con cremation of the bodies

* Introduct. a l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, i. pp. 215-16.

of fathers and mothers, by sons, the sin of Brahmicide would attach itself to them. Wherefore body cannot be the Bráhmaṇ.

And suppose Colour to be the Bráhmaṇ, (and that it is the case that) the Bráhmaṇ is of white colour, the Kshatriya is of red colour, the Vaishya is of yellow colour, the Shúdra is of black colour.* then from the appearance of the mixture of colour among all the classes, including that of the Bráhmaṇs, it is evident that colour is not the Bráhmaṇ.

Again suppose Works to be the Bráhmaṇ. According to this, the Bráhmaṇ of white colour lives (or would live) a hundred years ; the Kshatriya, the half (of this number, fifty years) ; the Vaishya, the half (of this number, twenty-five years) ; and the Shúdra, the half (of this number, twelve and a half years). From there being no such rule, it is evident that work constitutes not the Bráhmaṇ.

Again, suppose Birth to be the Bráhmaṇ. Then, there are many great Rishis who have been of strange birth : Rishyashringa was born of a deer ; Kaushika was from a stalk of the Kusha-grass (*Poa Cynosuroides*) ; Gautama was (born) from the back of a hair ; Válmíka (was born) from an anthill ; Vyása (was born from) the daughter of a fisherman (*Kaivartaka*) ; Vasishṭha (was born) of a Vaishya woman ; Vishvámitra (was born) of a Kshatriya female ; Agasti was born from a water jar ; Mándikya was born from the flower of the Mandúka (*Bignonia Indica*) ; Mátanga was the son of a Mátanga (a low tribe) ; Parášhara [the father of Vyása] was born from a female Chándála ; Nárada was the son of a Dása ;—so it is set forth in the Puráṇas. These parties on account of their distinguished knowledge obtained Bráhmaṇhood and pre-eminence, though without birth, as certainly reported.

Again, if Learning be supposed to constitute Bráhmaṇhood, it is found that there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, etc., who have great knowledge of categories (*padārtha*) and logical processes (*vákya-pramāṇa*) ; and that consequently learning does not constitute the Bráhmaṇ.

Again, if Religion be supposed to constitute the Bráhmaṇ, there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, etc., who have in religious observance performed meritorious works (*iṣṭapurta*) ; and consequently Religion does not constitute the Bráhmaṇ.

* This alleged diversity of colour in the primitive Castes is noticed in the Mahabharata, xiii. v. 6934. See also Muir's Texts, i. pp. 40-1.

Again if Liberality be supposed to constitute the Bráhmaṇ, there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras, who have given gifts of daughters, gifts of cows, gifts of gold, gifts of she-buffaloes ; and therefore liberality does not constitute the Bráhmaṇ.

What then [constitutes the Bráhmaṇ]? He who sees the import of Brahma as clearly as one who holds [the fruit of the] A'malaka in his hand and who is without lust, anger, hatred, etc., [and has] quiet and self-restraint, and from whom pleasure, pride, envy, desire, folly, and other evil affections are removed, is declared to be a Bráhmaṇ. A Shúdra by birth becoming a Brahmacharya is declared to be a *dvija* (one-twice-born) ; by practice in the Védas, he becomes a *Vipra* (an intelligent one) ; and by the knowledge of Brahma, he becomes a *Bráhmaṇ*.*

This reasoning is in substance that of the Buddhist Vajra Shúchí. The tract proceeds to dispose of the representations now quoted on the usual principles of the Védantists,—not disparaging the caste of the Bráhmaṇs, but holding the knowledge of Brahma to be essential to its perfection. It appears to me that its author thus ingeniously seeks to weaken the Buddhist argument, which must have been current in the country before he considered it expedient to interfere with it.

And here it is proper to observe that though the Vaishṇava Bráhmaṇs,—the modern sectarial followers of Viṣṇu,—have most absurdly alleged that Buddha was a descent (*avatára*), and the Shaiva Bráhmaṇs,—the sectarial followers of Shiva,—that he was a personal manifestation (*rupadhárāṇa*) of Viṣṇu,† effected for the

* Shankara Achárya virichatayāṇ upaniṣhat subodhinyāṇ Vajra Shúchí, pp. 1-4.

† “ Then in the course of the Kali (Yuga), for distressing the enemies of the Suras (gods), he will be born among the Kíkatas, as Buddha, the son of Anjana.” Bhágavata Purāṇa, i. 3. 24. See passages of a similar kind referred to in Kennedy 'on Ancient and Hindu Mythology, p. 250.

purpose of destroying the merit of a righteous king, whose worth they allege came into depressing competition with that of the gods themselves, they have all along rightly interpreted the *principles* of Buddhism while strenuously opposing them.

In the interesting Nāṭaka, or Play, entitled the *Mrichchhakatikā*, or Toy Cart, attributed to king Sūdraka, and supposed by Professor H. H. Wilson to have been composed about a century before the Christian era, a Shramanaka, or Búddhist mendicant, is represented as thus singing :—

“ Be virtue, friends, your only store,
And restless appetite restrain,
Beat meditation’s drum and sore
Your watch against each sense maintain ;
The thief that still, in ambush lies,
To make devotion’s wealth his prize.

Cast the five senses all away,
That trample o’er the virtuous will,
The pride of self importance slay,
And ignorance remorseless kill ;
So shall you save the body guard,
And Heaven shall be your last reward.

Why shave the head and mow the chin
While bristling follies choke the breast ?
Apply the knife to parts within
And heed not how deformed the rest :
The heart of pride and passion weed,
And then the man is pure indeed.”*

* Wilson’s Hindu Theatre, vol. i. p. 122. The spirit of the original passage (see Stenzler’s text, p. 112) is here preserved, though considerable freedom has been used in the translation.

The party thus chaunting with Buddhistical propriety, who is represented as originally a *Sāmvāhaka*,—a body-servant, or gambler, is also set forth as saying when about to leave his original work, “Lady, on account of the disgrace of this gambling profession I will become a *Shákya Shramanaka*,”* thus intimating the motive, by which, according to the Buddhist social reform, parties of the lower castes of the Hindus were often influenced in their assumption of Buddhist mendicancy. A similar motive is that by which many parties of the lower castes of the Hindus are influenced when they join the religious orders of the present day.

In the *Káshí Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, devoted to the Shaiva form of Hinduism, the following are said to be the Buddhist teachings of Viṣṇu,—responding to the call of Shiva, to adopt measures for effecting the injury of the righteous reign of king Divodāsa, whose merit prevented the return of Shiva to his own city *Káshí*:—

“This order of things (*sansāra*) is eternally manifest (that is has no beginning) ; (to it) there is neither creator nor creation. It is self-existent, and self-extinguished. From *Brahmá* to a (vegetable) spike everything is confined in a bodily form. The soul (*Átmá*) and God (*Ishvara*) are identical ; they are not two : for *Brahmá*, Viṣṇu, and *Indra*, etc. are merely nominal distinctions, as we are denominated *Punya-kirti*,† etc. As at our natural time our bodies perish, so (other) bodies, from *Brahmá* to a fly, perish at their natural

* In the *Prākṛita* of the play, the original is अङ्गु आए अहं एदिणं जूदि-अलावमाणेण शक्यश्रमणेकं हविस्सं, being in *Sanskṛita*, अङ्गुके अहमेतेन द्यूतकरावमानेन शक्यश्रमणको भविष्यामि. See the carefully edited text of Stenzler, pp. 39-40 ; 195.

† The name said to be assumed by Viṣṇu, when he set to the propagation of heresy.

time. On a proper view (of matters) there is no superiority of bodies. Eating, copulating, sleeping, and fear are common to all. Satisfaction in eating is common to all, without any superiority or inferiority. Thirst is the consequence to all of refraining from drinking.... Suppose there are hundreds of horses: their use to sit on is the same to all (that is only one at a time is available for sitting on). The pleasure experienced by sleeping on couches is the same as if we were sleeping on the floor. As we ourselves possessed of bodies fear death, so all from Brahmá to an insect fear death alike. If we consider aright, we shall see that all wearing bodies are alike. And having so inquired, it is established, that there should be no slaughter of any one (living being) (at any time) or at any place. There is no religion in the world like tenderness to life (*jívalayá*); wherefore men ought by all means to practise tenderness to life. He who preserves a single life, is as if he had preserved the three worlds, and he who kills one (life) is as if he had destroyed the three worlds; wherefore let there be preserving and not killing. That refraining from killing is the supreme duty (*paramodharma*), is said by the learned (*suras*) of old. Wherefore, whoever has the fear of hell should avoid killing. There is no sin in the three worlds like slaughter. The killer goes to hell; the non-killer goes to heaven (*svarga*). There are other offerings, but their fruits are very small. The offering (*dána*) freeing from fear is manifestly the greatest in the three worlds. There are four gifts enjoined by the great Rishis, on the inspection of the Shástras; they are seen to be productive of advantage in the present life and that which is to come:—giving confidence to the terrified, giving medicine to the suffering, giving learning to the ignorant, and giving food to the hungry. (Moreover), the power in gems, mantras, medicines, is to be reckoned extremely great. Wherefore men traffic among them by various expedients, and acquire wealth. Having acquired wealth, continue to worship at the twelve shrines, for without wealth there is no other way of worship. The twelve good (shrines) are the five organs of sensation, the five faculties of sensation, the intellectual faculty (*mana*), and intelligence (*buddhi*). Heaven and hell are in these twelve and nowhere else. Pleasure is said to be heaven, and pain to be hell. If the body die while enjoying pleasure, this is deliverance (*moksha*). This is the excellent deliver-

ance ; there is no other deliverance whatsoever. The total destruction of desire and pain is in the highest sense the excellent deliverance (*vijnāno-paramamoksha*) this is to be understood by the perceivers of distinctions. This is the Shruti spoken by the learned in the Vēdas :— There is to be no killing of any living beings ; (the sacrificial Rich beginning with) *Agnishōma* begets bewilderment to pure persons, for to intelligent ones there is no authority to its making the destruction of animals. That the cutting of trees, the slaughtering of animals, the making the ground red with the burning of oil-giving plants and clarified butter, lead to the attainment of heaven is surprising.*

The doctrines propagated by the Buddhists,—those of the eternal existence of the universe, of the negation of a Creator and a creation, of the identity of soul in all existing forms, of the natural course of growth and decay and pleasure and pain, of the universality of the fear of birth and death among sentient beings, of the great virtue of the preservation of life even in its lowest forms, of the evil of animal sacrifice and the destruction of vegetable growth,—are all here plainly set forth. It is only the doctrine of spirit involved in the passage quoted, however, which can be applied to the mitigation of the pride of caste. Very precise on this subject are the teachings in the context put into the mouth of Lakshmī, the spouse of Viṣṇu, who under the name of *Vijnāna Kāumudī*, is thus made to hold forth, after alluding to the propriety of enjoying bodily pleasures, which is no peculiar tenet of the Buddhists:—“ The thirteen beautiful daughters of Daksha were married to Kashyapa, the son of Marīchi (the brother of Daksha). People of small understanding of the present time consider that such a kind of marriage

* Kāshī Khantā, of the Skanda Purāṇa ii. 53. 80-108 (fol. 34-37 of MS. of Dr. Ghāṭa Dāji).

is fit, and yet not fit. The four castes are produced from the mouth, arm, thigh, and foot: this was the false imagination of olden times. How can four sons produced from the same body be of separate castes? (High) caste and low caste (*varna avarṇa*) are not to be thought of. Distinctions among men are not to be taken cognizance of by any one at any time or at any place.”*

Only one explanation regarding the Buddhist view of Caste remains to be made. Though it is evident, both from the testimony of the Buddhists themselves and of their enemies the Brāhmans, that they opposed Caste as far as they were able according to the exigencies of the times in which they lived, they actually, as a matter of policy, often winked at its existence in Indian society. While it was not carried by them into foreign countries, it was tolerated, though disparaged, by them wherever they found they had been preceded by A’ryan rule. They invented, too, in connexion with it their own legendry. All this is abundantly evident from what we find to be the state of matters in regard to the island of Ceylon. Mr. Tolfrey, in the Appendix to Lord Valentia’s Travels, says, “The epoch in which we now are is called (by the Buddhists) the Mahābhadrā Kalpa,” previous to which a thousand millions of millions of worlds (*sakavals*) have been destroyed. Living creatures were regenerated, however, in the higher regions, and became Brahmas, without

* Kāshī Khanda, ii. 58, 109-123 (MS. fol. 36). The legend of Divadāsa and Buddha, as found in this work, is, in substance, given by Vans Kennedy in his Researches in Ancient and Hindu Mythology, pp. 423-431. See also Author’s First Exposure of Hinduism, pp. 137-140.

any distinction of caste. Some of these Brahmas returned to the world, "which they formerly inhabited, on their being reproduced, but from avarice degenerated to such a degree that they began to steal. Upon this, quarrels arose among them, and there being no chief to decide these disputes, their wise men reflected that the world would not be in a proper state without some kind of government. Upon this they selected from among them a person renowned for wisdom, whom they appointed to be their king, saying to him, 'Thou art our king; we will give to thee one-tenth part of the substance we may acquire; be thou a judge, and a ruler over us.' This king was called Maha Sammata, a compound word, which signifies a great assembly [rather one elected by many], to indicate that he had been chosen by the consent of many people."*

The statements made by Mr. Spence Hardy agree with this condensed view of the Buddhist theory of the origin of the principal Castes. The king, he tells us, was called a Khatiyō or Kshatriya; the Brahmas, who concurred in the suppression of impious proceedings, were called Bráhmaṇās; those who acquired wealth, Vessá, or Vaishyas; and those who were addicted to hunting, Sudda, or Shúdras.† Several lists of Castes or professions are given by Mr. Tolfrey. Their denominations are principally derived from the Sanskrit, and are similar to those contained in the Indian lists which we have already inserted. They are said to have been constituted in order to serve the four superior Castes.

* Lord Valentia's Travels, iii. p. 488-9.

† Manual of Buddhism, p. 66.

The destruction of Buddhism by Bráhmaism under caste influence I shall afterwards have occasion to notice. I conclude this chapter by remarking that the Jainas, who are only Buddhist Seceders, take exactly the same view of Caste as their speculative progenitors. Their Yatis or Jatis, and other religionists in the West of India, continually assail Caste by such arguments as we find in the Vajra Shúchí of Ashva Ghoshá.

VIII.—A PEEP AT INDIAN SOCIETY BY THE GREEKS.

India is emphatically the land of mystery. It has been a land of mystery from the earliest ages to the present hour. It has been a land of mystery to distant strangers, to friendly and hostile visitors, and even to its own inhabitants. Scarcely any other country of the world is to be compared to it in this respect. Egypt, with its hieroglyphic and hieratic characters and its esoteric doctrines, had its records and gigantic works palpable to all, which declared the grand outlines of its history, even back to the remotest ages. Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, though long obscure to their neighbours, did not conceal their history from their own people, but even stamped much of it on bricks and cylinders, and graved much of it on permanent tablets and on rocks, to be read by all men. The closed land of China, though jealous of foreign intrusion, has always patronized an open literature for the benefit of its own sons, as well as preserved and published the results of the thought and research of its numerous moralists, economists, and recorders. India alone has striven to keep itself in obscurity

and darkness. It had its poets in the early ages of the world; but they composed, and sang, and recited, principally for themselves and the gods of their invention and recognition. It had its priests, more numerous perhaps than those of any other country, but they kept their knowledge within their own circle, making of it an entire monopoly. It had its thinkers and wise men; but their lips did not "disperse knowledge," but enjoined the preservation of it as a body of secrets to be communicated only to particular classes of men, and amongst these only to the disciplined and initiated. It had its princes who patronized its bards and eulogists; but these princes encouraged these bards and eulogists to deal with flatteries and fables and not with facts and principles. It had its peculiar *itihāsa*, but this, speaking generally, was simply a licensed fiction, a dogmatic assertion that matters (in their incongruities and puerilities beyond the sphere of rational belief) were *said to be so and so*, without reference to their real origin and circumstantialia. It contented itself with bare genealogical tables, which make no distinction between the divine, the heroic, and the human, and into which were thrust apocryphal additions whenever a new power or dynasty, however obscure, was anxious to invent and claim the prestige of antiquity. When these tables necessarily referred to later times, they were actually set forth, as in the Bhāgavata, Viṣṇu, and other Purāṇas, not as chronicles of the past, but as prophecies of the future. Its own progress and development, it neither, as a consequence, observed nor recorded. The only glimpses into its past which itself furnished were obtained by occasional rents in the veil of its mystery by the

violent hand of sectarianism, as in the case of Buddhism and other attempts to modify or change its general creed. It even kept aloof, after its early ages, from commerce and communion with neighbouring nations, which its own sons were forbidden to visit on pain of religious deprivation.

It is the fact that India has thus not spoken for herself that gives such a great interest to the notices taken of it in connexion with the nations and tribes which by visiting its shores sought to carry its productions to distant lands; and to the observations made on the borders of its territories or within its own boundaries by those who have sought to acquire its sovereignty, or to maintain with it a good understanding in connexion with their neighbouring colonies. This interest is now enhanced tenfold, when the vast and non-reviewed literature of India is in all its departments, in this critical age, passing into the hands of those who are competent to observe its indications, to interpret its spirit, and to cast the light which it yields on the path of its past advancement, and on the present state of its society, and its physical condition.

From all the people of antiquity brought into contact with India, we should expect the most from the Greeks. They had a cultivated intelligence, ardent curiosity, and, except as modified by an inordinate tribal pride, feelings of catholicity connected with all that could be characterized as an approximation to civilization. It was among them that the historical faculty properly so-called was first developed in extended comprehensiveness and laborious research. History (*ιστορία*),—learning or

knowing by inquiry, and the knowledge or information so obtained,—was their own word ; and the improvement of the historical faculty was their own glory. They belonged to the same great race from which the dominant Indians, the A'ryans, had sprung. Their forefathers, with those of these A'ryas, had long been members of the same family and community, and had had the same social connexions, the same speech, the same gods, and the same religion. The questions at once occur, when we realize their intercommunion in subsequent times,—Did the Greeks recognize their remote but close relationship with the A'ryas? did they perceive in India the many elements of their common speech? did they discover the identity or analogous position of the Grecian and Indian gods? did they see how the tribes migrating to the west and those moving to the south or south-east had, with marked peculiar diversities of occupation and development, certain things in common? did they note the peculiarities of India, and contrast them with those of their own country? These and other similar questions can be answered only by a careful collation of, and attention to, the fragments of their accounts of India which remain, and the comparison of them with what we know of India itself and find in its literary remains. By a similar process we answer the inquiries, Do the Greek accounts illustrate the Indian literature, and Does the Indian literature illustrate the Greek accounts? Both series of questions will be answered, in part at least, as we proceed with this section of our volume.

The first Greek author who mentions India by name, I need scarcely mention, is Herodotus, the father of

profane history.* He was born at Halicarnassus in Caria about the year B. C. 484; and he probably lived to an advanced age. He had intimate connexions at various times with Greece and the Greek colonies, and he was a great traveller in Europe, the North of Africa, and the West of Asia. He had, for his day, a comprehensive view of the objects of history. "Herodotus of Halicarnassus," he says, "publishes his researches in order to prevent the achievements of men from fading in the oblivion of time, and lest the great and admirable exploits both of Greeks and Barbarians should fail of their due renown. He also proposes to explain the occasions of the wars which have been carried on between them."† The wars before him were specially those of the Greeks and Persians. It is in connexion with these wars that he notices the circumstances of the various peoples which were affected by them. The course of his history, which he dedicates to the Muses, properly commences with the time (B. C. 546) when Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, conquered the Lydian kingdom of Cræsus, and extends to the capture of Sestos (B. C. 478), when the Greeks triumphed over the Persians. It is in connexion with his enumeration and description of the satrapies of Darius that he notices India, both as included in these satrapies and exterior to them. He had not personally visited India, his travels to the East having terminated in Mesopotamia or the Persian provinces contiguous to that country. There can be but little doubt that he had

* Perhaps India was included in the Ethiopia of Homer (Od. i. 23-24). •

† Herodotus, Olio., 1.

intercourse with parties who had seen India or made it the subject of inquiry with those who had visited its border provinces. The information which he gives respecting it, though brief, and not to be received without criticism, is nevertheless of a valuable character.

Of geographical discoveries and acquisition of territory in India by Darius, Herodotus thus writes :—"The greater part of [the unknown] Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. This king wishing to know on what part of the coast the Indus meets the sea—a river which after the Nile is the only one [then known] that produces crocodiles, sent ships with persons on whose fidelity and truth he could rely, and among these was Scylax of Caryandea. These setting out from Caspatyrus, a city of Pactyica, descended the river in its course towards the East (?) till they reached the sea." "After this voyage had been accomplished, Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented that sea," (the Indian Ocean).^{*} The origin of this voyage must have been on the Kábul affluent of the Indus—the Kophen or *Kubhá*. Pactyica, (the country in which it commenced) is recognizable in the name of a people, with whom we are all familiar, found in that locality to the present day, I mean the *Pakhtus* or Patháns. Speaking of the twentieth satrapy of Darius established through this conquest, Herodotus further says :—"The Indians a people much more numerous than any that is known contributed a sum proportionately larger than that of any other division, for they paid three hundred and sixty talents of gold

* Herod. iv. 44. Taylor, p. 285.

dust.”* We have not to suppose, from this notice, that the empire of Darius extended over all the country now comprehended under the name of India. It embraced, there is reason to believe, only the country contiguous to the banks of the Indus and the territory lying on the Persian side of the Hindu Caucasus. This is evident from what is afterwards added by Herodotus :—“The eastern part of India is a desert of sand, and of all the nations known to us, or of which we possess any certain information, the Indians are the farthest toward the East, being on that side the first people of Asia: for the sands render the country beyond them towards the east uninhabitable.”† The great desert here referred to is supposed by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson to be that lying to the north of the Himálaya between that range and the Tchien Chau Range.‡ Major Rennell supposes that it may apply to the country between the lower part of the Indus and Rájputáná.§ It is evident that Herodotus had not been exactly informed of the peninsula of India, stretching into the Indian ocean, though he speaks in the progress of his narrative of a people resembling Ethiopians in the tint of their skin, whose country was a long way from Persia (that is the Persian dominions) towards the south.

India is the only satrapy which Herodotus represents as paying its tribute in gold. The sum which he specifies as yielded by it is very large, being four and a half times as much in value as that yielded by the opulent satrapy of Babylonia and Assyria. The region from which the gold was procured is indicated by him, it is

* Herod. iii. 94.

† Ib. iii. 98.

‡ See Rawlinson's Herod.

§ Rennell's Geo. of Herod. p. 309.

believed, with accuracy. "There are other Indians not far distant from the city Caspatyas, and the region Pactyca." "The mode of life followed by these is similar to that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of all the Indians; and it is these who furnish the gold." The northern portions of this district embracing the lofty ranges of the Hindu Kush, the Belur-Tagh and Mus-Tagh, Altai, and other places near the sources of the Oxus and Kabul Indus, are said to "abound with the precious metal." This portion of country is, I think, referred to in the book of Genesis, — in connexion with the seat of the garden of Eden and the rivers of paradise. "A river (or watershed, *panndot*, or water-roll in the Indian languages, as I venture to interpret it) went out of Eden, to water the garden (probably an extended district); and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads (for actual drainage). The name of the first is *Pishon* (or the *Shon* or Indus in this quarter, *Pi*, the first syllable of the word, as I have elsewhere conjectured, † being the Egyptian definite article, and *Shon* being the Egyptian name of the *Sindhu*, or Indus): that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah (the Campilla of the Indians, as thought by Professor Lassen), where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdolach and the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon (admitted by all geographers to be the Oxus): the same is it that compassed the whole of Cush (translated Ethiopia)." ‡ This region, I believe with others, furnished the gold of the

* Herod. iii. 98.

† India Three Thousand Years Ago.

‡ Gen. ii. 10-12.

Solomonic commerce, referred to in the books of Kings and Chronicles, which was exported from ports on the Indus, in the province denominated by Ptolemy *Abiria*, and by the Periplus, *Sabiria* and *Iberia*,—the land of the *A'bhíras*, the Indian Ophir.*

The account given by Herodotus of the method of the acquisition of the gold referred to has afforded much amusement since his day, though it has been substantially repeated by some of his successors.

“Here in this desert (that is the sandy desert already mentioned) there live amid the sand great ants, in size somewhat less than dogs, but bigger than foxes. The Persian king has a number of them which have been caught by the hunters in the land whereof we are speaking. These ants make their dwellings under ground, and like the Greek ants which they very much resemble in shape, throw up sand heaps as they burrow. Now the sand which they throw up is full of gold. The Indians, when they go into the desert to collect this sand, take three camels and harness them together, a female in the middle and a male on either side in a leading rein. The rider sits on the female; and they are particular to choose for the purpose one that has but just dropped her young; for the female camels can run as fast as horses, while they bear burdens very much better. When the Indians therefore have thus equipped themselves they set off in quest of the gold, calculating the time so that they may be engaged in seizing it during the most sultry part of the day, when the ants hide themselves to escape the heat.....When the Indians reach the place where the gold is, they fill their bags with the sand, and ride away at their best speed; the ants, however, scenting them, as the Persians say, rush forth in pursuit. Now these animals are so swift, they declare, that there is nothing in the world like them; if it were not therefore, that the Indians get a start while the ants are mustering, not a single gold-

* See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. p. 539. Josephus (*Antiq.* 1. 3. 8.) and many of the Christian Fathers made the Pishon the Ganges.

pathos could escape. During the flight the male camels, which are not so fleet as the females, grow tired, and begin to drag, first one and then the other; but the females recollect the young which they have left behind, and never give way. Such, according to the Persians, is the manner in which they too can get the greater part of their gold; some is dug out of the earth, but of this the supply is scanty.*

In this narrative there are doubtless proofs both of imposition practised upon Herodotus by his informers, and of the simplicity and credulity of the historian. Even in its absurdities, however, heightened though they have been by the fears of the gold-finders lest their occupation should be interfered with by interlopers, there is a substratum of truth. The late Professor Henry Hayman Wilson is of opinion that the story may have arisen from the fact that the gold found in the plains of little Thibet is commonly called Pippilika or "ant" gold, from the belief that the colonies of ants, by their wonted operations, are instrumental in bringing the gold to view. A better conjecture, in my opinion, has been made than this. It is that the animal which is said to burrow in the sands is the Pengolin, or ant-eater (the *Manis crassicaudata*), called by the natives of the Maráthá Country the *Katvali mánjar* (or tiled cat). The habits of this animal in burrowing in the sands are well known; and it is abundant in many places of India. It is one of the most remarkable of the Edentata mammals; and as its familiars are not recognized by the natives of India, they give very fabulous accounts of its powers and capacities, especially of its alleged ability to kill a man by the sweep of its tail, which bears a greater proportion to the

* T aylor's Herodotus, p. 494.

size of its trunk than is found in any other quadruped. In certain of its aspects, as looked at by the rude children of nature, it has some resemblance to an ant. It is so curious altogether that it is not unlikely that specimens of it may have been sent to the king of Persia. It is a mistake of our countrymen in India, to say that food cannot be provided for it in a state of captivity. I nourished a specimen of it for a couple of months, by giving it milk and eggs; and it died only in consequence of a fall which it had of about twenty feet.

Of the tribes of India, Herodotus remarks that they are "numerous," and that "they do not all speak the same language." The Aryan conquerors of India, who spoke the Vedic language (called Sanskrita when afterwards it had the benefit of grammatical culture), were not, as we have seen in former parts of this work, the first immigrants into India. They found that they had been preceded not only by tribes remotely cognate with themselves, but by many Scythian, Turanian, and Hamitic tribes, whose languages they but little understood. About the time of Herodotus, the Sanskrit was about to cease to be a spoken language. Such of the tribes of India as laid aside their own Turanian dialects, had then formed a great many provincial dialects, in their attempts to make themselves intelligible to the dominant people. This diversity of language was not unknown even in what must have been the Persian India. There are several Indus dialects (as there are great diversities of tribes) on the banks of that river even in the present day. It is an extremely curious fact that the language of the Brahuis, a people there to be found, is cognate not so

much with the languages of Northern as with those of Southern India.

Of a certain tribe or class on the banks of the Indus, Herodotus says:—"They who dwell in the marshes along the river, live on raw fish, which they take in boats made of reeds, each formed out of a single joint. These Indians wear a dress of sedge, which they cut in the river and bruise; afterwards they weave it into mats, and wear it as we wear a breast-plate." Rude Ichthyophagi of this character have been associated with many countries, but partially known. Some have supposed that the reed out of which their boats were constructed were bambus; but the fabrication of boats from a single joint of a bambu was impossible.

"Eastward of these Indians," our author goes on to say, "are another tribe called Padoeans, who are wanderers, and live on raw flesh. This tribe is said to have the following customs:—If one of their number be ill, man or woman, they take the sick person, and if he be a man, the men of his acquaintance proceed to put him to death, because they say his flesh would be spoilt for them if he pined and wasted away with sickness. The man protests he is not ill in the least, but his friends will not accept his denial—in spite of all he can say they kill him, and feast themselves on his body. So also if a woman be sick, the women who are her friends take her and do with her exactly the same as the men. If one of them reaches to old age, about which there is seldom any question, as commonly before that time they have had some disease or other, and so have been put to death—but if a man notwithstanding comes to be old, then they

offer him in sacrifice to their gods and afterwards eat his flesh."

On the cannibalism here referred to, the following note is given in Rawlinson's lately published translation of Herodotus—a work of great merit, and generally edited with critical carefulness and accuracy. "The same Custom (of cannibalism) is said to have prevailed among the Massagetae and the Issidonians; and a similar one is mentioned by Strabo as existing among the Caspians and the Derbices. Marco Polo found the practice in Sumatra in his own day. "The people of Dragoian," he says, "observe this horrible custom in cases where any member of their family is afflicted with a disease. The relations of the sick person send for the magicians, whom they require, on examination of the symptoms, to declare whether he will recover or not. If the decision be that he cannot, the relations then call in certain men whose peculiar duty it is, and who perform their business with dexterity, to close the mouth until he is suffocated. This being done they cut the body in pieces in order to prepare it as victuals, and when it has been so dressed the relations assemble, and in a convivial manner eat the whole of it, not leaving so much as the marrow in the bones." According to some modern writers (Elphinstone's *Cabul*, vol. i. p. 45, 2nd ed.) cannibalism continues in the countries bordering on the Indus to the present day."*

To this I would add, that the word *Padcean* may perhaps have been derived from the Indian *Pahádi*, or "mountaineers," against whom the charge of cannibalism is not yet extinct, even in parts more to the east and south than

* Rawlinson's Herodotus.

the Indus. In an account of the Bandarwars by Lieut. Prendergast, we find the following statement :—

“In May, 1820, I visited the hills of Amarkantak, and the source of the Nerbada river, accompanied by Capt. W. Low of the Madras Army, and having heard that a particular tribe of Gonds who lived in the hills were Cannibals, I was anxious to ascertain the truth of the assertion, and made the most particular enquiries (assisted by my munshi, Mohan Sinha, an intelligent and well informed Kayath) as to their general habits and mode of living. We learned, after much trouble, that there was a tribe of Gonds who resided in the hills of Amarkantak, and to the S. E. in the Gondwada country, who held very little intercourse with the villagers, and never went among them, except to barter or purchase provisions. This race live in detached parties, and have seldom more than eight or ten huts in one place. They are Cannibals in the real sense of the word, but never eat the flesh of any person not belonging to their own family or tribe; nor do they do this except on particular occasions. It is the custom of this singular people to cut the throat of any person of their family who is attacked by severe illness, and who they think has no chance of recovering, when they collect the whole of their relations and particular friends, and feast upon the body. In like manner, when a person arrives at a great age, and becomes feeble and weak, the Halal-khor operates upon him, when the different members of the family assemble for the same purpose as above stated. In other respects, this is a simple race of people, nor do they consider cutting the throats of their sick relations or aged parents any sin; but on the contrary an act acceptable to Kali, a mercy to their relations, and a blessing to their whole race.”*

This matter deserves to be inquired into. It was the charge of infanticide against the Indians brought by Colonel Wilford on the alleged authority of the Greeks and Romans, which led Jonathan Duncan to discover the awful custom of infanticide among the Rajputs. Our actual acquaintance with the inhabitants of the forests of India is a great deal more limited than it ought to be at the present

* Alexander's E. I. Magazine, 1831, p. 140.

time. Let India look to itself, as well as devote its enterprising officers to the work of African discovery.

The antipodes of the cannibals with Herodotus were the parties who entirely abstained from animal food. "There is another set of Indians," he says, "whose customs are very different. They refuse to put any live animal to death, they sow no corn, and have no dwelling houses. Vegetables are their only food. There is a plant which grows wild in their country, bearing seed about the size of a millet-seed in a calyx; their wont is to gather this seed, and having boiled it, calyx and all, to use it for food. If one of them is attacked with sickness, he goes forth into the wilderness, and lies down to die; no one has the least concern either for the sick or for the dead." Herodotus wrote about the times of the Buddhists; but even before their day great tenderness to animal life had been developed in India, as a consequence of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which however is not to be found in the Védas, which in many places exemplify the use of animal food, even of that of the cow afterwards so sacred throughout the country. The first limitation as to animal food with which I am acquainted is in by far the most modern of the Védas, the Atharvana. It occurs in a command (already referred to) not to kill the "inedible cows of the Brāhmanas," and seems to have in view only the preservation of their pets.* The avoidance of the use of the cereals by the vegetarians hinted at by Herodotus is explained partly by the injunctions in Manu against the destruction of seeds, the germs of life, as exemplified in the complaints made against an oil press.†. Why any seed should have been used by the

* See before, p. 141.

† Manu, iv. 85.

vegetarians, scrupulously avoiding corn, does not appear. The dying in the wilderness without the care of friends may have a reference to the case of the *Vânaprasthas*, whom we have already noticed in this work.

The informers of Herodotus respecting India were certainly not friendly to its diversified tribes and tongues, if they had opportunities of actually observing their social state. "All the tribes I have mentioned," he says, "live together like the brute beasts." They were mistaken, too, when they said that all the tribes of India "had the same tint of skin, which approaches that of the Ethiopians." This language requires to be very considerably qualified, even when it is applied to the more southern tribes, which Herodotus must have heard of in the general, for he adds, "Their country is a long way from Persia towards the south, nor had king Darius ever any authority over them."

We have thus exhausted the general, and somewhat meagre, notices of India found in Herodotus. Nothing more of this country worthy of attention was learned by the Greeks till about one hundred and fifty years after Herodotus, when Alexander the Great, in his attempt to subdue the Persian empire to the dominion of Macedon, reached its northern borders. A great flood of light was doubtless then thrown on India, revealing its peculiarities to intelligent inquirers; but it has been only dimly reflected to us in the present day. The body of information obtained respecting it was soon lost for historical purposes. The letters of Alexander himself, sent from its borders, which are sometimes referred to by Pliny and Plutarch, have long ago disappeared, while those bearing his name, addressed to his tutor Aristotle,

bear evident marks of forgery. The writings of Callisthenes, who was taken to the East by Alexander to write his history, have also perished. We know of Clitarchus, another of Alexander's followers, only from a few references made to him by Plutarch and others. Orthagoras, who is said to have written nine books about Indian affairs, is not even quoted by Alexander's historians. Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander's fleet, wrote a history of his own movements; but we have not his work to compare it with the charges made against it by Strabo in his Geography, and by Arrian in his Expedition of Alexander. Arrian himself,—who was a disciple of Epictetus and flourished in the reign of the Emperor Adrian,—is our chief authority respecting the observations and deeds of Alexander and his army in India, though interesting gleanings are to be got from Strabo, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, and others.

Alexander's march from Bactria to the Indus, as described by Arrian,* is interesting principally in a geographical point of view. Attempts have been made, with considerable success, to reduce the names of places and persons found in it from their Greek to their Indian forms. The result warrants the application to the Greek visitors of India of the remark made by professor H. H. Wilson on our first English surveyors and geographers in India:—"It may be doubted if any of them have been conversant with the spoken language of the country: they have consequently put down names at random, according to their own inaccurate appreciation of sounds, carelessly, vulgarly, and corruptly uttered."† For

* Arriani Expeditionis libro quarto, et seq.

† Vishnu Purāna, pp. 178-9.

example, the Greek *Kóphén* (a river) is the *Kubhá*; the *Choe* is the *Khonar*; and the *Goraid* or *Gorceas* is the *Gáuri*. The *Aspasii* are probably connected with *Ashvaka*; *Massiga* is *Mashaká*; and *Peucolaitis* is *Pushkalavati*.* It is interesting to notice that Alexander's experience of the courage of the mountaineers must have been somewhat similar to our own. "The Indians of that province," it is said, "far excelled all the other Indians in military exploits;" and, after a trial of their mettle, he was glad to engage them as mercenaries, though he soon found, "that they would not fight against other Indians." The cattle of the district attracted his particular attention. "Alexander chose the best and largest (of them), that he might send them into Macedonia for a breed, for they far excelled the Grecian cattle both in bulk and beauty."† "The existence of the vine and ivy in the country and probably the worship of Shiva, the God "of increase," were viewed by the hero and his companions as an indication that it had been visited by Dionysus (or Bacchus). The Greeks were perhaps confirmed in their conjectures about this matter by the Indians, in whose genealogical tables a *Dévanahusha*, a divine personage of the Lûnar race, makes an early appearance. The Indians begged for the saving of their city *Nysa*, alleging

* To no person are we more indebted for a scientific identification of many of the geographical names connected with the Indian movements of Alexander than to Professor Lassen. See *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. p. 116, et seq.

† Perhaps the bulk and beauty of some of the breeds of Indian cattle (with their prominently developed dewlaps and humps, which appear represented on the oldest coins,) as well as their utility, may have contributed to their deification by the Bráhmans.

that it had been built by *Dyonysus*; and they got off from a demand for one hundred of their magistrates (their principal *Shéts*) for three hundred horses, and Alexander's deference to *Bacchus*, whom it was his desire to excel in the extent of his conquests. Arrian well understood the pretences which were made on both sides in this case, for he says, that "The things which the ancients have published in their fables concerning the Gods, ought not to be too narrowly searched into; for whenever the truth of any story seemed to be liable to be called in question, some God was immediately summoned to their aid, and then all was plain and immediately swallowed." Mount *Méru*, even, was summoned to give testimony for *Bacchus*, its name sounding like that of the Greek word *Μῆρος* (the upper part of the thigh), which fitted in with the western legend that *Bacchus* had been shut up in the thigh of *Jupiter*. Connected with the remarkable rock *Aornos*, Alexander began to hear of the alleged exploits of a God (*Krishna*, as we shall afterwards see), whom they identified with their own *Hercules*. He enjoyed in the contiguous mountains and forests an elephant hunt, a fact which shows the wide dispersion of that gigantic pachyderm in his day.

On arriving at the *Indus*, probably at *A'tak*, Alexander received presents of submission from *Taxiles*, an Indian prince, so called from an Indian town, *Takshashilá*, to which he belonged. This prince he did not deprive of his territories when he reached his capital. On the contrary, he enlarged them, though he made *Philip*, the son of *Machetas*, governor of the province in his own name. Alexander's passage of the *Hydaspes*,

the *Vitastá* of the Indians, was opposed by the patriotic and valiant *Porus*, (or *Puros*,) who probably derived his name from *Pura* a city in general, but given to a capital and its lord in this district by way of distinction, according to a usage prevailing to the present day. This was at the summer solstice, when the river was at its height, and its passage was effected with great difficulty. Much fighting followed, which issued in the defeat of *Porus*, the death of his two sons and of the governor of the province, and the infliction of wounds on his own person. When *Porus* came to *Alexander*, to express his submission, both his bearing and appearance made a deep impression on the Macedonian conqueror. He was doubtless an excellent representative of the ancient Indian *Kshatriyas*, or Rulers.

The next river passed by *Alexander* was that of the *Acesines*, the *Asikní* of the Hindus. In advance he came to the *Hydraotes*, or *Rávi*. Here he heard of a confederation formed against him by certain free Indians and *Cathæi*, perhaps a Scythian tribe, the progenitors of the *Káthís* of *Káthiáwár*; by the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli*, the inhabitants of *Mulásthána*, or *Multán* of later times. *Sangala*, or *Shákala*, near *Amritasar*, lay on his way to the south-east. He was fired with ambition to extend his conquests beyond the *Hyphasis* or *Vipáshá* of the Indians; but the spirits of his men, with the monsoon storms raging around them and powerful enemies before them, failing them, he was obliged to terminate his onward march and to return to the *Hydaspes*. By land, and by the river, his forces were conveyed to the junction of the *Hydaspes* and *Acesines*, and afterwards to

that of the Acesines and Indus. An encounter with the Malli and the taking of Multán, which nearly cost Alexander his life, were the incidents of this part of his journey. The identification of various places and persons visited, or negotiated with, by his army on the Indus is not a matter of difficulty. The *Oxydracæ* were the people of *Uch*, to be distinguished from the *Hydracæ*, the originals of the *Shúdras*, in the neighbouring district; and the *Abastani*, probably *Ambáshthas*, whose name appears in various parts of India. The *Xathri*, said to be a free people of India, were doubtless a tribe under the government of the *Kshatriyas*. The *Assadii* were the *Vasátí*. The land of *Musicanus* was near the present *Ladakháná*. *Sindomana*, the *Sinhavan* of the Bráhmans, was the present *Schwan*, between Upper and Lower Sindh. *Pattala* at the head of the Delta of the Indus, was the *Pátalipuri* of the Bráhmans, and must have been near Haidarábád, and not at Thathá as supposed by Principal Robertson.* It is not an object with us at present to notice the perilous journey of Alexander's army through the country of the Gadrosi and other tribes, and through Persia to the banks of the Euphrates. As connected with India, however, we may notice the fact that some of its sages adhered to him during this journey, even eating at his table as *Calanus*,—doubtless an Indian *Kalyánah*,—who committed voluntary suicide (or *Kámyamarāṇa*, forbidden to Bráhmans by Manu)† on the

* See Author's Journal of a Missionary Tour in Sindh, in the O. C. S. 1850, p. 397.

† See before, p. 25. Calanus was probably a Bhátta or Cháráṇa, a eulogist attendant upon kings, like individuals of these classes. *Mandanis* (S. *Mandana*, as in the name of the author of the *Amara Kosha*) was his companion.

funeral pile, with the ultimate assent and co-operation of Alexander himself, who reckoned his death the crowning act of his strange philosophy.

The information respecting India acquired by the Alexandrine invasion, now briefly referred to, was doubtless very considerable in amount, and interesting in character. It was surpassed, however, in precision and importance by that acquired by Megasthenes, to the fragments of whose writings, as quoted by Strabo, Arrian, and others, we now turn our attention.*

The original position of Megasthenes with regard to India has often of late been overlooked. According to his own statement, found in Arrian,† he was an attaché to Syburtius, governor of the *Arachosii*, who inhabited the *Haragaiti*, of the *Pársis* (the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sarasvati*) in eastern Irán.‡ While associated with Syburtius he frequently visited *Sandracottus* (or *Sandracryptus*) king of India. Sandracryptus, as conjectured by Sir William Jones, was the *Chundragupta* of the Hindus, the grandfather of the Emperor Ashoka, the great patron of the Buddhists. It was under Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, who had made a treaty with him about portions of territory west of the Indus, that Megasthenes visited his court at his capital *Palibothra*, or *Pataliputra*, at the confluence of the *Eranoboas* (or *Shona*) and Ganges, near the modern *Patna*, and which he assures us was eighty furlongs in length and fifteen in breadth, with a ditch thirty cubits deep, and a wall with five hundred and seventy

* These have been collected (but not translated) by Dr. Schwanbeck, in his *Megasthenis Indica*, Bonnæ, 1846.

† Arriani lib. v. cap. 6.

‡ See before, p. 81.

towers and sixty-four gates.* The discovery of a real Indian *datum*, well called by Dr. Max Müller "the sheet anchor of Indian chronology," (the only date which promises in any good degree an adjustment of any portion of our Indian genealogies), is the consequence of this recognition. Justin† tells us that Sandracottus had seized the throne of India (from the last of the Nandas, it appears from the Indian account) after the prefects of Alexander had been murdered (317 B. C.) Seleucus found him sovereign of India when, after the taking of Babylon and the conquest of Bactria, he passed on to India, to make secure arrangements with its emperor. It was then he concluded the treaty with him, which must have been before the year 312, for after his return to Babylon, he founded the era which bears his own name, the Seleucidan era. It is concluded from this that Chandragupta became king about B. C. 315. It must have been about the year 312 that Megasthenes first visited his court.‡ It is on the people of India that the information which he communicates to us principally turns.

Megasthenes, as is well known, divides the population of India into seven principal divisions or classes (*μῆνη*, a word which does not necessarily mean Castes). These are those of the Philosophers, the Agriculturists, the Shepherds and Hunters, the Artizans, Hucksters and Bodily Labourers, the Warriors, the Inspectors, and the Counsellors and Assessors of the king. Those who have

* For the identification of Palibothra and Pataliputra, we are indebted to Major Rennell. Robertson's dissent from Rennell (Note xiv. to Disquisition) is groundless.

† Justin xv. 4.

‡ See Max Müller's Hist. of Sans. Lit.

viewed these divisions as indicating Castes, looked to either from a Brahmanical or a Buddhist point of view, have been much puzzled with this classification, for it is really not reconcilable with any specific classification of Castes noticed anywhere in the Indian literature. The classification, it appears to me, is either that of Megasthenes himself, or of the political authorities of Palibothra with whom he came in contact. After referring to the Philosophers, as in a position entirely peculiar, it rises from the Husbandman,—whom he views with much regard,—to the Royal Counselors, next in authority to the king himself. Notwithstanding this peculiarity of the classification of Megasthenes, the information which his notices of the classes embraced by him afford is of great value, and throws considerable light even on the Caste system prevalent in his day. It is deserving of attention in all its details.

1. Of the *Philosophers*, Megasthenes thus writes (I quote from him as cited by Strabo,* who is more copious in his quotations than Arrian):—

“Among the classes, the first in honour, though in number the smallest, are the philosophers. People who offer sacrifice or perform any sacred rite have the services of those persons on their private account; but the kings employ them in a public capacity at the time of what is called the Great Synod, where at the time of the new year all the philosophers repair to the king at the gate, and any useful thing which they have committed to writing, or observed, tending to improve the production of fruits or of animals, or of advantage to the order of the state, is then

* Strab. Geog. lib. xv. l. et seq.

publicly set forth. And whoever has been detected in thrice giving false information is enjoined silence by law for the rest of his life ; but he who has made correct observations is for the rest of his life exempted from cess and tribute.”* The employment of the philosophers, for sacrifice and domestic religious rites has a plain reference to the Bráhmans and the rites which they were accustomed to celebrate ; while the congregating of wise men in annual assemblies seems to point to arrangements of a Buddhist character. The observational powers of the Buddhist mendicants, accustomed to visit towns and villages and to travel through the country, would doubtless be greatly developed and improved by the enlargement of their experience, while the state would profit by their annual reports of discovery. The arrangements thus acted on, however humble in character, were somewhat similar in principle to those of the British Association in our own day, when there are exchanges of congratulation in the brotherhood of science, and when the public tenders its approbation to those who in science and practical art have successfully laboured for the public good. It is curious to observe the discipline of the Indian assemblies, embracing both punishments and rewards. Silence for life for false reporters and incorrect observers three times erring (though it may have been limited to a deprivation merely of the right of public speech) was a heavy punishment, while exemption from tax and tribute was a great boon bestowed on the lovers of truth and accuracy. This exemption was a great improvement of the laws, afterwards embodied in the code of Manu, exempting Bráhmans from all taxation.†

* Strab. Geo. lib. xv. 1.

† See before, p. 39.

Megasthenes, I may here mention, in connexion with the Philosophers, refers to those of the mountains (probably worshippers of the mountain-god Shiva,) as in favour of the alleged visit of Bacchus to India.* He recognizes the inhabitants of the plains, however, as addicted to the worship of Hercules. This so-called "Hercules" was undoubtedly the Indian Kṛishṇa, whose fabulous achievements, so much resembling those of Hercules, were about this time brought to notice, while his worship was only locally prevalent. "Hercules," writes Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes, "the Indians tell us was a native of their country. He is particularly worshipped by the *Suraseni* [the *Shūrasénas* of the Hindu literature] who have two great cities belonging to them, *Methoras* [which we cannot fail to identify as *Mathurá*, a favourite residence of Kṛishṇa] and *Kliso-boras*," [probably a corruption of the name *Krishnapura*]. The district referred to is evidently that of the legends of the Hindus at the time of Megasthenes respecting Kṛishṇa, a modern god, whose name is not once mentioned in the ancient Védas. Megasthenes adds respecting Hercules, evidently having Kṛishṇa in his eye, that "he took many wives, and begot a great number of sons, though but one daughter whom he named *Panlœa*,"† a name in which we find an indistinct trace of the Pāṇḍava dynasty of the Mahābhārata. Kṛishṇa was only a deified king, whose name appears at the close of the Yadu branch of the Lunar race.

In treating of the Philosophers, Megasthenes recognizes both the *Brāhmans* and the Buddhist *Shramanas*.‡ "Megasthenes," says Strabo, "divides the philosophers into two

* Strab. Geo., xv. l. 58.

† Arr. Hist. Ind. cap. viii.

‡ See before, p. 295.

kinds, the *Bráhmānes* and the *Garmanes*.* The Brachmanes are held in greater repute, for they agree more exactly in their opinions. Even from the time of their conception in the womb they are under the care and guardianship of learned men, who go to the mother, and seem to perform some incantation for the happiness and welfare of the mother and the unborn child, but in reality they suggest prudent advice, and the mothers who listen to them most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their offspring. After the birth of the children, there is a succession of persons who have the care of them, and as they advance in years, masters more able and accomplished succeed."† The Bráhmāns he here sets forth as of greater repute than the Shramanākas. He represents them as objects of care from their very conception, having probably received some indistinct account of the antenatal *Sanshāras*, or sacraments of the Hindus. He seems to have been aware of the formalities of their tutelage under a succession of teachers, according to the Hindu institutes. The self-denial of these philosophers he distinctly notices. "The philosophers," he says, "pass their time in a grove of moderate area, living upon straw pallets and on skins, abstaining from animal food, and from sexual intercourse with women, engaging themselves in grave discourses, and communicating with those inclined to listen to them. But the hearer is not permitted to speak or to cough, or even to spit on the ground; otherwise he is expelled that very day from their society, as having no control over himself. After living thirty-seven years in this manner, each retires

* *Sarmanas*, Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 305.

† Strab. Geog. lib. xv. l. 59. Falconer's Translation, iii. p. 109.

to his own property, and lives with less restraint, wearing robes of fine linen, and rings of gold, but without profusion on the hands and ears. They eat the flesh of animals, but not that of those which assist man in his labour, and abstain from pungent and seasoned food. They practise polygamy for the sake of abundant offspring. If they have no servants, they supply their place by their own children, for the more nearly any person is related to another, the more is he bound to attend to his wants." Megasthenes seems to have had in view in this section principally the third and fourth áshramas of the Bráhmans, (of which the fourth is the milder,) though he concludes it by a reference to the second, that of the Householder.* The Bráhmans, he goes on to say, (in conformity with what we find in the Hindu literature) do not suffer their wives to attend their philosophical discourses. The reasons alleged by him for this reserve are the danger of the divulgence of secrets, the assertion of independence by instructed females, and their desertion of their husbands—reasons which, with some, are alleged to the present day against female instruction.

Of the doctrine of a future state as taught by the Bráhmans, Megasthenes had but partial notions. "They discourse," he says, "much on death, for it is their opinion that the present life is the state of one conceived in the womb, and that death to philosophers is birth to a real and happy life." He was better informed about the non-recognition by them, under certain courses of teaching, of the absence of good and evil in the accidents of life. He rightly speaks of many of their notions of natural phenomena being founded merely on fables. He notices the

* See before, pp. 28-35.

opinion of the Bráhmans that the earth is spherical, from which it would appear that something had been said to him of the *Brahmanda*, or egg of Brahmaná, and that there is a fifth element, doubtless the *ákasha* of the Indian sages. The “most honourable” of the *Garmanes*,—whom in the gross we recognize as principally the Buddhist *Shramanas*,—he declares to be the Hylobii. The word *Vána-prastháh* (“dwellers in the forest”) is the literal rendering of Hylobii, and the technical designation of the parties in the fourth A’shráma of the Bráhmans; and these he may have erroneously classed with the Buddhist *Shramanas*, more particularly as they had not a monopoly of this name, though it was applied to them by way of distinction.

Of the Physicians Megasthenes thus writes:—“Second in honour to the Hylobii are the Physicians; for they apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man. They are of frugal habits, but do not live in the fields, and subsist upon rice and meal, which every one gives when asked, and receives them hospitably. They are able to cause persons to have a numerous offspring and to have either male or female children, by means of charms. They cure diseases by diet rather than by medicinal remedies. Among the latter the most in repute are unguents and cataplasms. All others they suppose partake greatly of a noxious nature. Both this and the other class of persons [the Bráhmanical devotees?] practise fortitude as well in supporting active toil as in enduring suffering, so that they will continue a whole day in the same posture, without motion. They are enchanters and diviners, versed in the rites and customs relative to the dead, who go about villages and towns begging. There are others who are

more civilized and better informed than these, who inculcate the vulgar opinions concerning Hades, which according to their idea tend to piety and sanctity. Women study philosophy with some of them, abstaining at the same time from sensual connexions." This, certainly, mainly applies to the Buddhist devotees among whom were females as well as males.*

Megasthenes further correctly mentions that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers (applicable to themselves), and that those who committed the act were reckoned fool-hardy.

2. Respecting the *Husbandmen*, Megasthenes says, "The second class is that of the Husbandmen, who are the most numerous and mildest, as they are exempted from military service and cultivate their land free from alarm. They do not resort to cities, either to transact public business, or take part in public tumults. It therefore frequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, one body of men are in battle array, and engaged in contests with the enemy, while others are ploughing or digging in security, leaving the soldiers to protect them. The whole of the territory belongs to the king. They cultivate it on the terms of receiving as wages, the fourth part of the produce." This deference to agricultural pursuits by the Indians in times of war has more or less continued to the present time. As the cultivation of the land is here mentioned as a distinct employment and separated

* Clitarchus had probably Buddhists in view when he represents them under the name of Pramnæ as opposed to the Brachmanes. Strab. Geo. xv. l. 70.

from the rearing of cattle, and the practice of merchandise associated in the law-books with the caste privileges of the *Vaishya*, it is perhaps not erroneous to infer that the term *Vaishya* was applied to parties separately following either of these occupations.

3. Respecting the *Pastors and Hunters*, our informant writes :—"The third class is that of the Pastors and Hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, to sell and to let out for hire beasts of burden. In return from freeing the country from wild beasts and birds, which infest sown fields, they receive an allowance of corn from the king. They lead a wandering life, and dwell in tents. No private person is allowed to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either one or the other is a royal privilege, and persons are appointed to take care of them."* The distinction of cowherds, shepherds, and hunters, from other portions of the Indian population, continues to the present day.

4. Of the *Artizans, Hucksters, and Labourers*, Megasthenes thus writes :—"After the Hunters and the Shepherds, follows the fourth class, which consists of the Artizans, Hucksters, and Labourers. Some of these pay taxes and perform certain stated services.* But the Armour-makers and Ship-builders receive wages from the king, for whom only they work. The general-in-chief furnishes the soldiers with arms, and the admiral lets out ships for hire to those who undertake voyages and traffic as merchants."

* This is followed by an account of the taking the elephant, partly correct and partly inaccurate. Our author also repeats the story of the ants and the gold-finding, much in the form of Herodotus.

5. Of the *Military*, he says:—"The fifth class consists of fighting men who pass the time not employed in the field in idleness and drinking, and are maintained at the charge of the king. They are ready whenever they are wanted to march on an expedition, for they bring nothing of their own with them except their bodies." These troops, it is interesting to notice, were embodied as a standing army. It is not apparent that in caste they were necessarily *Kshatriyas*. They seem not to have been much troubled with what the Romans reckoned "*impedimenta viæ*."

6. Of the *Inspectors*, he says:—"The sixth class is that of the Ephori or Inspectors. They are intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on; and it is their duty to report privately to the king. The city inspectors employ as their coadjutors the city courtezans; and the inspectors of the camp, the women who follow it. The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of inspector." All this may be correct. It is part of the duty of a king, as laid down in the Law-books, to deal with spies and emissaries after sunset.* Glimpses of Inspectors may be got even in the older literature of the Indians.†

7. Of the *Counsellors and Assessors of the king*, he says:—"To these persons belong the offices of state, the tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs." This is pretty much in accordance with what *Manu* tells us of the royal counsellors. In connexion with this part of

* See before, p. 41.

† See some corresponding designations in the *Puruṣha Mēdha*, *ut supra*. pp. 127-132.

his subject, Megasthenes brings to notice two of the actual principles of caste :—"It is not permitted to contract marriage with a person of another caste,* nor to change from one profession or trade to another, nor for the same person to undertake more than one, except he is of the caste of philosophers, when permission is given on account of his dignity."

Returning to the ruling class, Megasthenes says :—"Of the Magistrates (*Archons*) some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some have the care of the rivers, measure the land as in Egypt, and inspect the closed reservoirs from which water is distributed by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have the charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as woodcutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They superintend the public roads and place a pillar at every ten stadia, to indicate the bye-ways and distances." In all this there is pleasing testimony to advancement in economic civilization.

The most curious arrangements noticed by Megasthenes, in this connexion, respect the governors of cities. He tells us they are divided into six Pentads (*panchakas*), Committees-of-five, with very special duties attached to each pentad. The first pentad superintended the fabricative operations, being a sort of Committee of Public Works. The second had charge of the relief of strangers, the burial of the friendless dead, and the care of their

* *ἑτερος*, the word which at p. 13 of this work is used as the Greek equivalent of *jāti*. The word above translated "class" is *μῆκος*.

property.* The third took cognizance of births and deaths, with a view to revenue purposes, which may explain the aversion of the natives of India to statistical inquiries. The fourth discharged the duties of the Bazar-masters, attending to weights and measures, and doubling the tax when the shopkeeper dealt in a variety of articles. The fifth took cognizance of manufactured articles and their sale, distinguishing old articles from new ones. The sixth collected the tenth of the price of the articles sold, inflicting death on parties guilty of fraud in this matter. This division of labour did not supersede the common consultation and responsibility of the general body of the pentads.

An equally minute division of labour was apparent in connexion with the management of military affairs, connected with which there were also six Pentads. The first of these acted under the naval superintendent, and its members were consequently miniature Lords of the Admiralty. The second managed the Commissariate and Transit Department, under a president, having charge of the bullock-trains for the military engines, baggage, instruments of music, grooms, mechanists, and foragers, whom they rewarded or punished according to their deserts. The third had charge of the infantry; the fourth, of the horses; the fifth, of the chariots; the sixth, of the elephants. In connexion with the notice of these arrangements, Megasthenes makes the following precise statements:—"There are royal stables for the horses and elephants. There is also a royal magazine of arms; for the soldier returns his arms to the armotry, and the horse and elephant to the stables. They use the elephants

without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen.* The horses are led by a halter, in order that their legs may not be chafed and inflamed, nor their spirit damped by drawing chariots. Besides the charioteer, there are two persons who fight by his side in the chariot. With the elephant are four persons, the driver and three bowmen, who discharge arrows from his back."

These details all bear witness to what we have often noticed, the division of labour among the ancient Indians, and show the existence in the time of Megasthenes of parties with designations similar to those contained in the lists already introduced into this work.

Several miscellaneous notices of the Indian people, bearing on the social state of the Indians, are introduced by Strabo and Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes in a somewhat digressional form. The whole country of India was divided, it is said, into a hundred and twenty-two nations, an estimate probably not below the truth. The people were frugal in their mode of life, using no wine except in sacrifices (the reference is probably to the Soma), and their food being principally of rice. They were fond of ablutions and unctions; of the frictional rubbing of the body; and of ornaments of the precious stones and metals. They were remarkable for their regard for truth; their polygamous alliances, effected through purchase and favour; their tolerance of professional whoredom; their early marriages in the case of girls, who might be espoused when seven years old; their sacrificing with their heads uncovered; their killing animals by suffocation, in order to avoid bloodshed; their punishing crimes by maiming (as enjoined in the

Law-books); their care of the persons of the kings by slave-girls; their demands on kings for labour and recreation during the day; and other customs known to be consistent with Indian history. They are spoken of as ignorant of letters, or writing; and as conducting public business memoriter, without an accessible body of law, and without the use of seals. This may have been really the case with the body of the Indians in the time of Megasthenes, for the oldest known form of the Indian alphabets bears evidence of a Grecian and Phenician origin, and was not unlikely devised after the invasion of Alexander the Great.*

Megasthenes is accused of deviating into fables when he speaks of Indian dwarfish races of five or three spans in height, and without nostrils, but with breathing orifices about the mouth; of *Enocoitæ*, who slept, on their ears which hung down to their feet; of tribes with heels in front, and instep and toes turned back; of *Ocypadæ*, so swift of foot that they left horses behind them; of *Monomati*, who had only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead, with hair erect and shaggy breasts; of *Amycteres*, without nostrils, with the upper part of the lips projecting; and of various other curious and hideous monsters. The absurdity of his narrative in regard to these matters needs no exposure; but it is interesting

* Clitarchus, as well as Megasthenes, testified to the Indian ignorance of writing. On the probable non-use of literal writing among the ancient Indians, see notice by the author in "India Three Thousand Years Ago," pp. 34-36; and more particularly Max Müller's *Hist. of Sans. Lit.* pp. 500-524, compared with Goldstücker's *Introduction to the Mānava Sūtras*, pp. 15-67.

to know that the more uncivilized tribes of India are characterized in this strange manner even in the classical Hindu literature. Professor H. H. Wilson, when quoting from the Mahabhārata the dig-vijaya of the Bhishma Parva, inserts the following note, on the mention of the people called *Naikapriṣṭhas* (having more than one back) "probably some nickname or term of derision":—"Thus we have in the Rāmāyaṇa and other works, enumerated amongst tribes, the *Karṇapravarāṇas*, those who wrap themselves up in their ears; *Aṣṭha-karṇakas*, the eight-eared; or *Oṣṭha-karṇakas*, having lips extending to their ears; *Kākamukhas*, crow-faced; *Eḥapādukas*, one-footed, or rather one-slippered: exaggerations of national ugliness, or allusions to peculiar customs, which were not literally intended, although they may have furnished the Mandevilles of ancient and modern times with some of their monsters."* Even in the Védas, human monsters are alleged to exist.†

An interesting portion of the fragments of Megasthenes is that which refers to the Indian genealogies. It is difficult to identify the few Indian names which he indicates. Yet, with Lassen and others, all Indian scholars must see *Scayambhuva* (the self-existent) in his *Spartembas*; *Buddha*, in his *Budyas*; *Pururavas*, in his *Prareuas*, supposed to have been written for *Kradeuas*—the present reading. His names, with the exception perhaps of the last, are those of divinities heading the

* Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 187. See, also, on the names of the Indian monstrous people Schwanbeck's Megasthenis Indica, pp. 64, et seq.

† See before, p. 96.

genealogies, partly of the Solar and partly of the Lunar Dynasties, confounded by him together. Megasthenes says that the Indians reckon from Bacchus (whom they made the contemporary of Spartembas) one hundred and fifty-three kings, reigning during the space of six thousand and forty-two years. The statement agrees with none of the genealogical lists possessed by the Hindus, even when they are viewed as including their fabulous personages. The only safe conclusion is, that genealogical lists were actually recited by the natives at the time of his visit to India. We get no chronological help from him, except in the mention of the name of Sandracottus (Chandragupta), which affords us the valuable historical datum already alluded to.

We have before noticed the fact that the Greeks confounded Shiva and Kṛiṣṇa with Bacchus and Hercules, in the concept and legends of whom there is certainly some analogy. They were nearer the truth, when, as Strabo says, they related that the Indians worshipped Jupiter Ombrus, the river Ganges, and the indigenous deities of the country.* In Jupiter Ombrus we doubtless find the Indian Indra, by whose influence it was supposed the clouds shed down their watery treasures. Indra was worshipped of old by all classes of the Indians, though he was reckoned the special deity of the Kshatriyas.

It must be apparent from the notices now given, that though the Greek accounts of India are, from the form in which they have reached us, not all that could be desired,

* Strab. Geog. xv. 1. 69. I have throughout this chapter referred to Megasthenes, as quoted in this chapter of Strabo, and in Arrian's Indian History, chapters vi-xvi.

they are really of a valuable and interesting character, from the light which they cast on the social state of the Indians at the times of which they treat. They afford no proof, however, that the Greeks recognized their relationship to the ruling tribes of India, or discovered the fact that the Greek and Sanskrit are cognate languages. They became known to the Indians, under the name of *Yavanas* (Ἰωνες), by which the Greco-Bactrians were afterwards distinguished. By the Greco-Bactrian, Greco-Indian, Indo-Scythian and Parthian Kings, whose coins have of late years been brought to light, and whose dominions extended to the northern provinces of India, important local modifications were doubtless made in Indian caste and customs ; but of these no historical notices are to be found. India became greatly indebted to Bactrian art, the indications of which are not wanting in the Buddhist remains of Western India ; and this obligation would not be unnoticed by the hereditary limners, painters, sculptors, and architects of India, and by those, who, under the Buddhist relaxation of Caste, felt at liberty to adopt occupations suited to their own genius and inclinations.

It may be here mentioned, though by anticipation, that our obligations to Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria (of the second century after Christ) for the identification and localization of many of the peoples and tribes of India are great indeed. A few of these identifications and localizations have been already incidentally referred to in the preceding pages.* Others of them will be noticed when I review the Hindu Castes as they at present exist.

* See before, pp. 55, 57, 111, 155, 170, 227.

IX.—CASTE IN THE LAW-BOOKS AND LATER INDIAN LITERATURE.

BOTH the *Smárta* Sūtras (or Sūtras founded on the *Smṛiti* or “what is remembered”) and the *Smṛitis* themselves having the same origin, form what are called the Hindu *Dharmashāstras** or Law-Books. They do not claim an origin similar to that of the Védas or even that of the Bráhmaṇas, A’ranyakas, Upanishads, and Shrauta Sūtras, associated with the Védas, to which we have already appealed. Yet their authority is scarcely of a secondary character. They are practically all-prevalent in the Indian community. The more ancient of them contain the record of the laws and customs held to have been long current in the Indian community, and learned either by simple tradition, or from interpretations made of Védic works, by supposed Rishís in whose behalf it is asserted that they were perfect from their birth, and possessed of divine vision. It is generally maintained by the Hindus that Védic authority is wanting to them in any respect, only because portions of the Védic works, (Bráhmaṇas and Sūtras) on which they were originally founded, have altogether perished. They are written in shlokas, a peculiar versification, or “measured prose” as it is denominated by Sir William Jones, but are not poetical in the proper sense of the term. More comments have been written upon them, and digests made of them, than in the case of any other Indian writings. The personal, and social, and civil, and religious

* From *Dharma*, law, and *śāstra*, institute.

affairs of the Hindus have been conducted according to them for many generations. They are held to be superior in authority both to the two works of *Mihāsa* (the *Ramāyana* and *Mahābhārata*), and to the Eighteen *Purānas*.

The Hindus of Western India speak of Eighteen *Smritis* and Eighteen *Upasmitis*. The classifications of them under these heads, however, do not agree. The following is an alphabetical list of the best-known *Smritis* without reference to this distinction :—

1. *Atri*, of 115 *Shlokas*, treating of *Dāna* (largesses to *Brāhmans*) and Penances.

2. *Angiras*, of 165 *Shlokas*, treating of ceremonial Defilement and Penances.

3. *Āpastamba*, of 200 *Shlokas*. This work is very similar to that of *Angiras*.

4. *A'shvalāyana*, of about 1000 *Shlokas*, treating of the Daily Ceremonies of the *Brāhmans*, the Sixteen *Sanskāras*, the *Shrāddhas*, the Daily *Homa*, the general Duties of the Castes (treated of as in other parts of this work), and the Death Ceremonies.

5. *Baudhāyana*, of 1100 *Shlokas*, treating of Purity and Impurity, and Atonements.

6. *Bhāradvāja*. This work is now very rare.

7. *Bṛhaspati*, of 50 *Shlokas*, treating of *Dāna*.

8. *Budha*, of 22 *Shlokas*, treating of the *Sanskāras*, and the Duties of the four Principal Castes.

9. *Dakṣa*, of 150 *Shlokas*, treating of the four *Brāhmanical* *Aśramas*, and of Daily Ceremonies and Duties.

10. *Dēvala*, of 90 *Shlokas*, treating of the four Principal Castes, their Daily Duties, Defilement, Purification, and Penance.

11. *Gautama*, of about 450 Shlokas, treating of the Sanskáras, the relative Position and Duties of the four Castes, Funeral Ceremonies, and Penance.

12. *Háríta*, of about 125 Shlokas, treating of Penance and Funeral Ceremonies.

13. *Jábáli*.

14. *Jaimini*.

15. *Jamadagni*.

16. *Káshyapa*.

17. *Kátyáyana*, occupying twelve leaves in Calcutta edition in Bengali character.*

18. *Kaushakí*, of about 300 Shlokas, treating of *Doshá* (stains) and Penance.

19. *Kokila*, of 306 Shlokas, treating of Shráddhas

20. *Laugákshí*.

21. *Likhita*, of about 100 Shlokas, treating of Dána, Penance, and Funeral Ceremonies.

22. *Manu*, of 2685 Shlokas, as counted by Sir William Jones. The following is its own summary of contents :—

The Creation of the World, Laws of the Sanskáras, Observances, Ablutions, Marriage, the great Sacrifices, Funeral Ceremonies, Occupations, Family Rules, Things to be Ate and not-Ate, Defilements, Purifications (of men) and Utensils, the Duty of Women, the Practice of the Yoga, Tapa, Moksha, and Sanyása, the Duty of Kings, Decision of Cases, Taking of Evidence, and Examination, Law of Husband and Wife, Inheritance, Gambling, Punishment of Criminals, the *Achára* (or Dutiful Walk) of Vaishyas and Shúdras, Origin of the Mixed Castes, the Duties of all Classes in times of Distress, Rules of Penance, Escape

* See Bibl. Sansk. of Gildemeister, p. 127.

from Worldly Connexion, Enjoyment of the three kinds of Fruits of Works, Liberation, the Knowledge of Good and Evil, the Duties owed to One's Country, to One's Caste, to One's Family, Heretics, and Companies of Traders).*

23. *Nārāyana*.

24. *Parāshara*, of 3,300 Shlokas, treating (after the *Upodghāta*, or Introduction) of the Daily Ceremonies, the Four Ashramas, Sacrifice, Marriage, Funeral Ceremonies, Purity and Impurity, Penance, Touch, Eatables and Non-Eatables, Largesses, Rendering of the Planets, Houses, Temples, etc. Propitious, Duties of Kings. This Smṛiti also appears in an abridged form, of 541 Shlokas.

25. The *Prajāpati* or *Brahmā*, of 200 Shlokas, treating of the ordinances for Shrāddhas.

26. *Sanratṭaka*, of 216 Shlokas, treating of the Daily Ceremonies, Largesses, the Castes, the Aśramas, and Penances.

27. *Shātātapa*, of 200 Shlokas, treating of Penance.

28. *Shaunaka*, of 204 Shlokas, treating of Sacrifice.

29. *Shankha*, of 200 Shlokas, treating of Deeds that are Right or Wrong (*Dharmādharma*), Purity and Impurity, Daily Ceremonies, and Funeral Ceremonies.

* Manusmṛiti, i. 111-118. The contents of the twelve chapters are thus expressed by Sir William Jones. I. On the Creation; with a Summary of the Contents. II. On Education; or on the First Order. III. On Marriage; or on the Second Order. IV. On Economicks, and Private Morals. V. On Diet, Purification, and Women. VI. On Devotion; or on the Third and Fourth Orders. VII. On Government; or on the Military Class. VIII. On Judicature; and on Law, Private and Criminal. IX. On the Commercial and Servile Classes. X. On the Mixed Classes, and on Times of Distress. XI. On Penance and Expiation. XII. On Transmigration and final Beatitude.

30. *Ushana*, of 150 Shlokas, treating of Purity and Impurity, the Castes, Funeral Cereñonies, Buying and Selling, and Penance.

31. *Vámana*.

32. *Vashishtha*, a favourite of the Vaiṣṇavas, whom it supports from a sectarial point of view.

33. *Vishnu*. Of this I have seen only the Laghu, or abridged form, which consists only of 110 Shlokas, treating of the Sacraments, A'shramas, and Castes.

34. *Vridhashátálapa*.

35. *Vyāsa*, of 84 Shlokas, treating of the Castes, A'shramas, and Largesses.

36. *Yājñavalkya*, of 1200 Shlokas. The first Division of this work, entitled A'charádhyāya, (the A'chāra chapter) contains thirteen sections, treating of Introductory Matters, Pupilage, Marriage, the Castes, the Duties of a Householder, the Duties of the state intervening between Pupilage and Marriage, Food permitted and forbidden, Purification, Largesses, Funeral Cereñonies, the Worship of Ganapati, Propitiating the Planets, etc., the Duty of Kings. The second, entitled the Vyavahāradhyāya, contains twenty-three sections, treating of Introductory Matters, Payment of Debts, Oral Evidence, Written Evidence, Trial by Ordeal, Partition of Heritage, Boundary Disputes between Master and Servant, Sale of what has no Owner, Reversal of Gifts, Repenting of Sale or Purchase, Service by Contract, Opposition to Customs or Bye-Laws, Non-payment of Wages, Gambling, Abuse by Speech, Assaults, Violence, Reversal of Sale, Partnership, Theft and Robbery, Fornication and Adultery, Miscellanies. The third, entitled the Prāyashchitādhāya, treats of

the Atonements for Impurity, for Compromises in Times of Difficulty, for a Vānaprastha, for a Parivraja, for Compromises in case of Disease, for killing Brāhmanas, for killing Cows, for various kinds of Slaughter, for Spirit-drinking, for Theft, for breaking Caste, for Debauchery of Women, for Eating at Funeral Ceremonies, for Inferior Sins, for Eating Things forbidden, for Wearing Blue Clothing, etc.

It will be observed, on looking to this list, that most of these Smritis are exceedingly brief. Some of them appear to me to be made up of the collected quotations ascribed to their respective authors, and not to be distinctive works, forming either individual treatises, or a Code of Laws. As to an arrangement of them, founded either upon their age or matter, the Hindus are not agreed. Vijañeshvara, the author of the great commentary on Yājñavalkya, mentions twenty-four of them in the following order:—Manu, Atri, Viṣṇu, Hārīta, Yājñavalkya, Ushana, Angirā, Yama, Apastamba, Sanvartta, Kātyāyana, Bṛihaspati, Parāshara, Vyāsa, Shankha, Likhita, Dakṣa, Gautama, Śatātapa, and Vasīṣṭha.* He does not, however, consider this list exhaustive.

* Mitākshara, i. 1. (p. 2, Cal. Ed. of 1813). Nīlakaṇṭha Bhāṭṭa (in the Sanskāra Mayukha 1. p. 1.) after quoting this list of twenty-one authors of Smritis gives the following other list on the authority of Pāṇīna:—Manu, Angirā, Vyāsa, Gautama, Atri, Ushana, Yama, Vasīṣṭha, Dakṣa, Sanvartta, Śatātapa, Parāshara, Viṣṇu, Apastamba, Hārīta, Shankha, Kātyāyana, Guru (alias Bṛihaspati), *Prashēta, *Nārada, *Yogi, Baudhāyana, Pītāmaha (alias Brahmā or Prajāpati), Subantu, Kāshyapa, *Babru, *Paithina, *Vyāghra, *Satyavrata, Bhāradvāja, *Gārgya, Kātyāyana (name repeated in the MS.), Jābāli, Jamadagni, Laugākshi, *Brahmasambhava. To the Smritis in this list not mentioned above, I have prefixed an asterisk. Nīlakaṇṭha gives the preference to Manu of all the Smritis.

Copies of the minor Smritis are now rather rare, the Hindus being generally satisfied with the references made to them in their Digests of Law. The following is the substance of that of *Angirā*. It treats of various Penances for Caste and other offences, and is intimately connected with the subject of Caste under our notice.

Repeat the Penances (prescribed) in the case of the A'shrāmas, and all the Varnas. A Brāhman drinking out of the vessel or well of a Chāṇḍāla is to perform the Sāntapana ;* the Kshatriya, the Prājāpatya ; † the Vaishya, half the atonement of the Kshatriya ; and the Shūdra, the half of that of the Vaishya. The water of a Chāṇḍāla ought to be vomited by these classes as soon as swallowed, and the Prājāpatya Penance performed. If the water has remained for some time in the stomach, the Brāhman has to perform the Krichchhra, ‡ and Sāntapana. If water from the vessel of a Chāṇḍāla be drunk in consequence of thirst, cow's urine must be drunk for three days. If any Dvija (twice-born) person [a Brāhman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya] do not wash his hands after relieving nature, after eating, or after touching a dog, he has to bathe and twice repeat the Gāyatri. If a Brāhman drink of a well polluted by ordure, he has to perform the Krichchhra and Sāntapana, for three days. A person who looks on or touches a crane, a Bhūsa, § a vulture, a rat, an ass, a Baka, || a jackal, a sow, has to perform three A'chamanas [thrice to sip water and spurt it out.]. If a Brāhman eat of these animals he has to perform the Krichchhra, Sāntapana, and the Prājāpatya. Eating of the flesh of a dog or cock, he has to perform the Chāndráyana. ¶ If a Brāhman speak when

* Fasting for a night and day, and taking the *punchagarya*, the five products of the cow, milk, butter, curd, dung, and urine.

† Fasting for three days, eating once for three days, abstaining from asking anything for three days, and fasting for three days.

‡ Abstaining from water for twenty-one days.

§ Supposed to be a kind of water-bird.

|| *Ardea Garzetta*. Sykes.

¶ Eating the first day of the moon one mouthful ; the second day, two ; the third day, three ; and so on till the full moon, when the supply is to begin to be lessened by a mouthful daily till a new moon occurs. This is the *Yavamadhya Chāndráyana*. In the *Pipilikā*, the reverse form of eatings practised.

relieving nature or when eating, he should touch another Bráhmaṇ. [Such, it is here added, is also the dictum of Shankha and Likhita.] If on any cotton matrass, or ornamented or red clothing, any defiling fluid fall, then let the article be purified by drying it and sprinkling it with pure water.* If a Dvija touch a Washerman, a Charṇakāra (shoemaker,) a Nata (player), a Dhívara (fisherman), or a Buruḍa (worker-in-bamboo), he has to perform an A'chamana with water. If any of these castes touch a Dvija when he is *uchchhishta*,† he has to remain for a night without eating, contenting himself with drinking. If any Dvija eat of the leavings of the forementioned castes, he has to fast for three days; and, if he be a Bráhmaṇ, he has to perform the Sántapana, while the Kshatriya has to perform three-fourths of it, the Vaishya two-fourths of it, and the Shúdra one-fourth. If a Bráhmaṇ go to the wife of a Shvapāka,‡ he has to bathe with all his clothes, and take a draft of clarified butter. If he do this without the desire of the woman, he has to bathe seven times; and if he does this with her desire, but without his own, he has to bathe ten or eleven times. If any woman under a vow become impure (through her courses) her vow is not destroyed, but to be implemented after four days. If a Bráhmaṇ touch the water of a Chándāla, he has to perform the Prájáputya and Krichchhira. [So also says Smṛanta.] If a Bráhmaṇ eat the food of a Chándāla or outcasted person, he has to perform the Parākaṣ penance; and a Shúdra, the Krichchhira. If any person go to the wife of an outcast or eat with her, or accept anything at her hands, he has to abstain for a month from grains, or perform the Chándráyana penance. If the flesh of a dog, an elephant, an ass, or a man fall into a well or tank, the whole water should be taken out, and the well or tank cleaned. If any Bráhmaṇ partake of water in which a corpse has fallen, he must remain awake for a day and night, and afterwards swallow the Panchagavya. Or he must perform the Chándráyana or Tapta-krichchhira.¶

* This is to prevent injury and inconvenience by a regular washing as in ordinary cloth, which is to be washed entire.

† In the state of impurity, following eating without washing.

‡ Literally a "dog-eater," a designation applied to several of the low castes.

§ Fasting for twelve days.

¶ Drinking hot-water, milk, and ghí for three days each.

There is no fault incurred by wearing what is blue at the time of sporting with women ; but there is at the time of Sandhyā, (the morning and evening ceremonies,) Snāna (ablution), Japa (meditation), Homa (burnt sacrifice), Svādhyāya (reading the Vēdas), and Pitrītarpana (pouring out water to Ancestors,) and Yajna (sacrifice), which would be rendered useless by it. A Brāhman dealing in indigo becomes an apostate ; or he must perform three Krichohharas. If a Brāhman wear a blue dress, he should remain awake for a night and a day, and swallow the Panchagavya. If a Brāhman pass through a field of indigo, he has to do the same. If a Dvija eat of grain raised in a field in which indigo had before been sown, he has to perform the Chāndrāyana. Fields in which indigo has been sown are purified after being kept fallow for twelve years. The husband of a widow remains in hell while he wears cloth dyed with indigo.*

A woman performing any fast or vow (in her own behalf) while her husband is alive shortens his life, and goes to hell after death. A woman is impure to the fourth day after her illness ; and if she die in the interval no Samskāra is to be performed for her till after this interval.

If a person be impure in a crowd, his impurity does not attach to others. The metal mixture Kāsa† is purified by ashes. It is cleansed from spirits by being washed and dried. The Kāsa vessels from which Shūdras drink are purified by touching with them a cow. A vessel touched by a dog, or a crow, is purified by an application of ten kinds of salt. Golden and silver vessels are purified by the wind and the rays of the sun and moon. Vessels of Kāsa are pure for the washing of hands and feet, and not for eating or drinking. Golden and silver vessels which may have been six months in the ground are purified by water. Copper vessels are purified by acid substances. A woollen cloth touching a corpse is not defiled.

If a man go between a husband and wife, or between fire and a Brāhman, or between a cow and a Brāhman, he must fast for a day and night.

* It is difficult to account for this hostility to indigo. Perhaps, the Brāhmins, who had established white as their religious colour, were afraid of the introduction of new fashions when their progress to the south of India brought them in contact with the Aborigines using indigo.

† Bell-metal, or an amalgam of zinc and copper.

No fruit occurs for ablution performed without the Darbha-grass; or for largesses given without water,* or for Japa performed without counting. The placing the half instead of the whole of the foot upon an A'sana (sacred seat) and speaking while eating, are faults equivalent to the eating of beef. If any man drink water or eat food that has fallen on the ground, he has to perform the Chândráyana. Dry rice is (fully) digested after seven nights; and vegetables ate with rice after fifteen nights. Milk and curds are digested after a month; clarified butter, after six months; and oil, after a year. A person taking the food of a Shúdra for a month remains a Shúdra, and after death becomes a dog (*sic*!). A person who becomes fat by eating the food of a Shúdra has no future good issue. Issue begotten after eating Shúdra's food is of the Shúdra caste. A person who dies with Shúdra food in his stomach becomes a village pig, or is reborn in a Shúdra's family. A person who sacrifices after eating with Shúdras is forsaken by Pitris and Dévas, and goes to the Raurava (dreadful) hell.† The wisdom of a Bráhmaṇ looking to a Shúdra (with expectation) becomes powerless. Food ought to be given on the ground to such a Bráhmaṇ, as to a dog. If a Shúdra make a Namas-kāra‡ to a Bráhmaṇ, and a Bráhmaṇ accept it, the Shúdra first goes to hell, and then the Bráhmaṇ. If an Agnihotri Bráhmaṇ (a Bráhmaṇ maintaining the sacred fire) continue to eat the food of a Shúdra his five acquisitions,—his soul, his Brahma, and three fires,—are destroyed. A Bráhmaṇ, according to A'pastamba, is not to eat anything which may have been in his hand when he touched a Shúdra. A Bráhmaṇ ought to eat the food of a Bráhmaṇ daily, that of a Kshatriya on the P'arvas,§ and on occasion that of a Vaishya, but never that of a Shúdra. The food of a Bráhmaṇ is (to the Bráhmaṇ) like ambrosia; that of a Kshatriya, like milk; that of a Vaishya, like food (properly so-called); and that of a Shúdra,

* The reference here is to the necessity of dipping presents in water, or applying water to them, when giving them to Bráhmaṇs. See before, p. 27.

† For an account of the Hindu hells and the sins said to lead to them, see Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, pp. 207-8.

‡ A form of salutation to be given only by the Devijas and to one another.

§ "*Parvo* is a term for particular periods of the year, (as the equinoxes, solstices, etc.) A name given to certain days in the lunar month, as the full and change of the moon, and the 6th, 8th, and 10th of each half month."—Molesworth's Maráthi Dictionary.

like blood. The Brāhman's food is holiness ; the Kshatriya's, like an animal ; the Vaishya's, like a Shūdra ; and a Shūdra's, like hell. The sin of a man is acquired by the eating of his food ; he who eats his food eats his sin. If a Brāhman or Brahmachāri eat or drink (without bathing) in ignorance of his impurity from a birth (*sūta*) which has occurred, let him take the Panchagavya ; and fasting three days he will be clean. A Brāhman becomes pure in ten days after a birth in his own class, a Kshatriya in six days, a Vaishya in three days, and a Shūdra in one day. The birth into which a Dvija will go after eating of the food of a Shūdra, while he (the Dvija) is in a state of impurity from a death or birth is to me (Angiras) unknown. Manu says he will be a vulture for twelve births ; or a pig for ten births ; or a dog for seven births. No defilement from birth or death occurs when the party concerned is practising the Homa, celebrating a marriage, or erecting a tabernacle for sacrifice. If a fly or a hair be found in food at the time of eating, water is to be applied to the eyes, and a little of (the sacred) ashes sprinkled on the food. If nature be relieved in a forest or place in which there is no water, or where there is the fear of tigers or thieves, there is no defilement from the disuse of water. It is sufficient ten times to touch the ground. If a party become impure while eating, he has to put out his mouthful, and perform ablution. If he has swallowed his mouthful, he will become pure by fasting a day or night ; but if he has completed his meal he will become pure by fasting three nights. If he has ate improper food while seated in his Pankti (line), he should fast for a day and night, and afterwards swallow the Panchagavya. Divisions in Panktis are caused by fire, ashes, pillars, doors, water, and roads. After sitting in one Pankti no one should touch that of others. The Sparsha (defilement by touch) is not communicated to those in one's own Pankti, but it is communicated to those of others. A Brāhman is not freed from sin and impurity by repeating the Vēdas, but from knowing the meaning of the Smṛiti. If a man repent of his sin and resolve not to repeat it, he becomes pure by that repentance, and by reading the Vēdāngas. As fire consumes living trees, so one skilled in the Vēdas consumes his own sins. Sin does not occur from confidence in God, but from ignorance and inadvertence, on which account only it is consumable....

In the house of a king, in a cow's fold, and in the presence of a God or Bráhmaṇ, and at the time of worship and eating, shoes ought to be pulled off. A religious king ought to cut off both the feet of any person who will sit with his Pádukas (wooden-slippers) on his seat. An Agnihotri, a Tapasvī, and a person learned in the Védas may always wear Pádukas; no other person ought so to do without punishment. The Chándráyana penance ought to be performed by all who eat in the house of a woman promised in marriage to one person and given to another; in the house of a woman who has become pregnant before marriage; and in the house of a woman who has become pregnant before she is ten years old; and in the house of a woman who has forsaken her husband and become an adulteress. Hell is the consequence of eating in the house of a woman without offspring. They who live on the property of a woman (*Strídhana*) go to hell. He who takes away the food of a King, the food of a Shúdra, or the glory of a Bráhmaṇ, or the food of a person labouring under the Sútaka, eats the sin of the world. He who touches a female Chándála at night, becomes pure by touching in the morning, the water brought by day, by bathing in it, and by drinking it. A Dása, Nápita (barber), Gopála (cowherd), Kulamitra (common cultivator, literally a friend of the family), and an Ardhasátri (a cultivator giving up half the produce), may eat with a Shúdra. If a Dvija eat with a Shúdra he has to perform the Chándráyana. There is no atonement for a man who has intercourse with a Vrishali (a woman who has her courses before her marriage). He who touches from inadvertence an Ajápála, a Mahishya, a Vrishalipati, has to perform ablution of his person and dress (*sachelisanána*). An Ajápála is the husband of a barren woman. A Mahishya is a man who forgives the adultery of his wife. A Vrishalipati is the husband of a girl who had her courses before being married. The father, mother, and elder brother who tolerate a girl in her courses before marriage go to hell. A Bráhmaṇ who will marry such a girl is not to be spoken to or admitted into society. The ancestors who look on a Mahishya in front; on a Vrishalipati, in the middle; and on a usurer behind, go into despair. Ancestors, Gods, and Rishis go into despair on seeing a person with spots on his body, a leper, a person with injured nails, and a person with black teeth. The gods do not eat in the house of a backbiter, a liar, or a man in subjection to

his wife ; or in the house in which a paramour is found. The ancestors eat the clarified butter of the person whose nails and hair are good, who does not wear red-clothing, and whose ears are larger than two fingers. As long as the food is hot, and no conversation takes place, the ancestors feed with the eaters. The qualities of the clarified butter are not to be spoken of till the ancestors are satisfied. Whatever mouthfuls at a Havyákavya (Shráddha)* are ate by the Bráhmans are ate by the ancestors. No Vrata (service in consequence of a religious vow) avails till the Bráhmans are satisfied with gifts of food and gold. Purification from any impurity thrown on the body by a crow or a crane is obtained by washing the stain. By six nights' drinking of the juice of the Lotus, Udumbara, Bilva, Kusha, Ashvatha, and the Palásha,† the stain incurred by participating of articles forbidden to be eaten, drunken, or tasted, and of blood, urine, and fæces, is removed. If this is not done, let three Krichchras, or three Chándráyanas, or the repetition of the sacraments upwards from the Játakarma.‡ [Here follows a repetition of a verse before occurring.] In doing penance let respect be had to country, time, convenience, property, fitness, and condition. There is no defilement from water or grass occurring on a road ; for they become pure by the rays of the sun and the wind. An infirm person is purified by the touch of a person making an ablution in his behalf. [Here follows a statement of the methods to be adopted to obtain ceremonial purification after touching a woman in her courses.] Purity is obtained by ablution after touching a corpse, or hearing of a birth or death. This virtue is in water, because the sun sees it, because it is heated by fire, and because the constellations observe it at night. Water is always holy, whether still or flowing, whether in a well or reservoir, or river ; so says Vákpati (Brihaspati). Angirá muni has said that water (if defiled) is purified by waving a stick over it, or by casting a clod of earth into it, or applying cow's dung to it. Milk, dung, urine, curds, whey, and butter, and the tail of a cow are always holy. Everything has now been

* Oblations to the Manes of ancestors, performed by clarified butter and food.

† The *Udumbara* is the *Ficus glomerata* ; the *Kusha*, the *Poa cynosuroides* grass ; the *Bilva*, the *Agle marmelos* ; and the *Palásha*, the *Butea frondosa*.

‡ See before, p. 61.

communicated to you, O intelligent one. If a cow is made to fall, a Krichchara has to be performed ; if it fall on a stone, two Krichcharas ; if it fall into a large well, half a Krichchara ; if into a ditch, a quarter of a Krichchara. If it be struck by an instrument, three Krichcharas have to be performed by the killer ; if by a stick, two ; if by a clod of earth, one ; or the Prájápatya. One has not to speak with a [strange] woman or sing with her. One must not go at night into a cowpen or perform any Védic ceremony. For cutting or twisting the tail (of a cow), two-fourths (of a Krichchara) are prescribed ;* for cutting off a foot, a shaving with the exception of the Shikha (tuft) ; and for felling, the shaving of the Shikha, are prescribed. The shaving of a woman, to the extent of two handbreaths of her hair, is prescribed for a similar offence. Let a man who is purified and undefiled by touch walk (on his way) without speaking. He who is touched by a person not (ceremonially pure), becomes pure in three nights. If during the Sútaka of a person mourning a death, he receive tidings of a birth, his Sútaka closes after the tenth day ; but if his Sútaka is in the first instance for a birth, and he afterwards hears of a death, the days of each Sútaka must be fulfilled [i. e. it must be completed in twenty days]. If a Sútaka is commenced for one birth and another be heard of, or if a Sútaka be commenced for a death, and another be heard of, one Sútaka is sufficient, and no sin occurs from the arrangement. If a Sútaka occur during a Vrata, let the Vrata be completed, and a dinner given to the Bráhmans. Whoever repeats this Shástra declared by Angirás becomes free from all sin.*

On looking at the preceding list of the Smritis, it will be observed, that most of the works noticed are exceedingly brief. They appear to me to be made up, in some instances, of the collected quotations ascribed to their reputed authors,—who were principally Rishis of the Védic times, who had nothing whatever to do with their composition,—and not to be distinctive works forming either individual treatises or a Code of Laws, properly so-called.

The Smritis in most repute throughout India in general

* Angirásmriti, 1-165.

are those bearing the names of *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, and *Parāśhara*. The best commentary on *Manu* is that of the Karnātakī Brāhman *Kullūka Bhaṭṭa*, usually printed with the text; and that on *Yājñavalkya*, that of the Shaiva Dandī *Viṅnāneshtari*, called the *Mitāksharā*. The best digest of all the Smritis and of the interpretations made of them is that entitled *Mayūkha*, (the concentrated Rays of Light) a work of twelve divisions and thirty-six thousand Shlokas, written by *Nilkantha Bhaṭṭa Kāshīkar*, a Dēshastha Brāhman who flourished considerably upwards of three centuries ago. The best digest of the privileges and duties of the Shūdras, forming the great mass of the Indian community, as set forth in the Law-Books, is that entitled the *Shūdra Kamalākar* by *Kamalākar Bhaṭṭa*, also of Kāshī, who was somewhat posterior to the author now mentioned. Numerous other digests of Hindu Law are in use in the different provinces of India.* Of these the *Nirnaya Sindhu*, treating more of religions than secular matters, is often referred to in the Marāthā Country.

The work bearing the name of *Manu* is sufficiently well-known by the translation of Sir William Jones. The original text of it has been repeatedly printed, and sometimes with the commentary of *Kullūka Bhaṭṭa*. It has the best claim of any Hindu Law-Book to the title of a Code, though it is by no means a homogeneous or self-consistent work. It commences by a professed recital by *Manu* (the primitive *Manu*, the all-knowing and all-powerful) to the assembled sages, of the doctrine

* Of these the largest list (founded however more on hearsay than precise research) is to be found in Steele's Report above referred to.

of the evolution or formation of the universe, and all its inhabitants, animate and inanimate, according to the speculative system which it is intended to support. This Code of Laws (Shástra), it tells us, Manu learned from the Deity himself, and afterwards communicated to Maríchi and the other nine Prajápatis or Lords of Creation.* Manu, it adds, requested *Bhrigu* to recite the Code, which is consequently announced in his name. The claims for its great antiquity, first proposed by Sir William Jones, in his Introduction to his translation of it, have of late years been abandoned by all orientalists; and others of a more moderate character are now urged in its behalf. There are allusions in it not only to the three sacrificial Védas, but to the Atharva Veda; to the Bráhmaṇas; to the Upanishads; to the Vedāṅgas; and to the Shrúti, etc.† Professor Lassen shows that at least portions of it are older than the Buddhist Sūtras, which contain the name of the god Shiva, not to be found in it. Parts of it, too, as the same author shows, must have been written when the A'ryas knew but little of the nations of the South of India, of which only the *Odras* (of Orisa,) the *Dravidas* (of the south-east of the peninsula,) the *Avantyas* (of Ujjayaní,) and the *Sátratas* (of the Sátpuda range) are mentioned by it.‡ The collecting, and probably the making, of some of the laws of the Code, however, must have been a work of later times. Heretics and their books are sometimes mentioned in it in such a keen way as to make us believe that they had an organiza-

* Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachétas, or Daksha, Vashishtha, Bhrigu, and Nārada. These names are principally those of the Vedic poets, elevated to the rank of Prajápatis.

† Manu xi. 33; iv. 100; etc. ‡ Manu, Chap. x. 44. 21, 23.

tion hostile to that of the Bráhmans, such as first appeared among the Buddhists.* Female devotees, unknown to Bráhmanism, and said by Kullúka, the commentator, to belong to the "Buddhist sect," are alluded to.† The reference to the *Chínas* would lead us to infer that portions of the work were made after the origination of the dynasty of *Tsin* (B.C. 260), taking its name, however, perhaps from an older tribe; and to the *Yavanas*, that the same portions were written subsequent to the advent of the Greeks to the north of India.‡ The distinctions between Mantras and Bráhmaṇas and between *Śruti* and *Smṛiti* are recognized by it.§ The *Smṛitis* of Atri, Shāmakā, and Vasiṣṭha, etc. are quoted by it.|| Reference is made in it to *Śhūdra* kings (probably late authorities among the *Āryas*) though only to condemn them.¶ It takes notice of the art of writing, and the recording of evidence on certain occasions.** Dr. Max Müller thinks that it has received the name of the *Mánava-dharmashāstra*, from its being the law-book of the *Mánavas*, a subdivision of the sect of the *Taittiríyas*.†† The date of the oldest *Smṛiti* collections is probably not to be extended beyond the second century before Christ. It is evident, from many of their portions, that they originated in a dark period of Indian history, as far as Bráhmanism is concerned.‡‡

* Manu, ii. 10-11; xi. 66.

† Manu, viii. 363.

‡ See passage quoted before, p. 60.

§ Manu, iv. 19; ii. 10-11; vi. 89.

|| Manu, iii. 16; viii. 140.

¶ Manu, iv. 61.

** Manu, viii. 261.

†† Hist. of Sans. Lit. p. 61.

‡‡ For the opinion of Sir William Jones on the faults of Manu, see before pp. 12-3.

I have already drawn copiously on Manu for illustrations of the Caste system in the first sections of this work, which treat of the sphere and authority of caste ; of the orthodox view of the four original castes ; and of the orthodox view of the mixed castes. The following abstract of important matters not already noticed, however, may be here advantageously made :—

Manu, who speaks of the formation, as has been shown, of the Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra from the head, arms, thighs, and feet of the godhead, according to the orthodox view of caste,* does not consistently adhere to this theory. He speaks of Brahmá becoming half male and half female, and as forming Virāj in that female ; of Virāj forming Manu ; of Manu forming the ten Prajápatis ; of the ten Prajápatis forming seven other Manus and Dévas, and Maharshis of boundless power, and various other creatures, including apes, fishes, birds, beasts, deer, and *Men*.† Mr. Muir appropriately asks, “If the castes had been previously created by Brahmá, what necessity existed for their being formed at another stage of the creation by the Maharshis, the third in succession from Brahmá?” And he appropriately adds, “It would seem as if the legend of the distinct creation of castes had been part of a separate and perhaps later tradition, engrafted on the other account.”‡ But this is not all. We have already seen the doctrine laid down in Manu, that the Kshatriya was formed from particles of eight gods specified. § Afterwards referring to the three *gunas* or qualities of Deity, according to Hindu speculation, Bṛhgu speaks of *Shūdras* and *Mléchchhas* (like the ravenous animals) being of the middle quality of *Tama*, or darkness ; of *Cháranas*, *Suparnas*, hypocrites, *Rákshasas*, and *Pisháchas* being of the highest conditions to which the *Tama* quality can extend ; of *Jhallas*, *Mallas*, *Natus*, those who live by the use of weapons, and gamblers, and drunkards, being of the lowest forms of the *Támasi* quality ; of *Rájás*, *Kshatriyas*, and *Purohitas*, and of men skilled in controversy, being of the middle state of the *Támasi* quality ; of *Gandharvas*, *Guhyakas*, *Yakshas*, *Vidyádharas*, and *Apsarasas* being of the highest

* Manu, i. 3. See before, pp. 62-3.

† Manu i. 32. 39.

‡ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, i. 16.

§ See before, p. 37.

of the quality of *Raj*, or passion; of the practisers of *tapa*, Yatis, Vipras, the hosts of the (lower) heavens, the Nakshatras, and the Daityas, being of the highest of the forms of the quality of truth, *Satva*; of sacrificers Rishis, Deities, the Védas, the fixed stars, the years, the Pitris (Manes of ancestors), being of the middle forms of the quality of goodness; and of Brahmá, the Creator of the universe, virtue, the Great One, the Unapparent One, being the highest forms of the quality of goodness.* "Here," as remarked by Mr. Muir, "we see Kshatriyas and king's priests (*purohitas*) who of course are Bráhmans, in the same grade, while other Bráhmans of different sorts rank in two of the higher classes. The highest class of Bráhmans rank with the Rishis and the Védas, while the Védas themselves are only in the second class of good (*sáttvika*) existences, and lower than Brahmá, their alleged author."†

Of the spread of the A'ryas over India, first after their settlement on the banks of the Indus and its affluents, and secondly, after their settlement between the rivers Sarasvatí and Drishadvatí, in what was called *Brahmávarṭa*, Manu gives us some interesting information. "As far as the eastern, and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains [Himavat and Vindhya just mentioned] lies the tract which the wise men have denominated *A'ryavarṭa* [the abode of the A'ryas]." Included in this general region was the region of the *Brahmaráshi*, comprehending Karukshétra, Matsya, Panchála, and Shúraséna; while the country which lies between the Himavat and the Vindhya, to the east of Vinashana, and to the west of Prayága [the junction of the Ganges and the Yamuná] was distinguished as the *Madhyádésa* or middle country. All these regions, it will be observed, were north of the Vindhya range. They formed, at the time at which the portion of Manu in which they are mentioned was written, the land of Bráhmanism. "From a Bráhman (*agrajanna*) born in that country (*A'ryavarṭa*), let all men on earth learn their several usages." "That land, on which the black antelope naturally grazes, is held fit for the performances of sacrifices; but the land of *Mléchchhas* differs widely from it." "Let the three first classes invariably dwell in those before mentioned countries; but a Shúdra distressed for subsistence may sojourn wherever he chooses."‡

* Manu xii. 43-50.

† Muir's Texts, i. p. 18.

‡ Manu ii. 17-21.

Though the Hindus are aware of the extension of the privileged country to the whole of India they still act in the spirit of these last quotations, and generally oppose foreign travel. The river Atak (the name of which etymologically means "obstruction," is the boundary of journeying allowed by caste. A passer over the sea (*samudrayātrī*) is among the parties "inadmissible into company at a repast," and to be avoided at Shrāddhas.*

The great scrupulosity of Caste in regard to certain kinds of food is thus explained by Manu, on the principle of the metempsychosis. "These (animals and vegetables before mentioned) enshrouded in multiform darkness, by reason of (past) actions, have internal consciousness, and are sensible of pleasure and place."†

The teaching of the code of Manu is confined by him to Brāhmins (1. 103).

In accordance with statements already made, Manu declares that "the Vēda, Smṛiti, pure usage (exemplified), and self-satisfaction are the quadruple indications of Duty" (ii. 12). With this dictum all the lawbooks agree.

The account of the *Sanskāras*, or Sacraments‡ given by Manu is briefer than that found elsewhere. Parties neglecting the *Upanayana*, or investiture, are held to be *Vrātyas* (members of the profanum vulgus) who are degraded from the *Gāyatrī*, and with whom no connexion whatever is to be formed by any Brāhman. The following caste distinctions are recognized :—"The *yajnopavīta* of the Brāhman is to be of cotton, to be put over his head in three strings; that of a Kshatriya, of flax; and that of a Vaishya, of woollen thread." (ii. 27-44). The ceremony of *Keshānta*, or cutting off the hair, (in the sixteenth year of a Brāhman, in the twenty-second of a Kshatriya, and the twenty-fourth of a Vaishya) prescribed by Manu (ii. 65), is now attended to.

In connexion with Brāhmanical discipleship, Manu uses very strong language about the benefit of pronouncing the *Gāyatrī* and its prefixes (the triliteral syllable AUM or combinedly OM, and the *vyāhritis*).§ A thousand repetitions of the *Gāyatrī* by a Dvija "releases him in a month from a great offence, as a snake from his slough." "The Brāhman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya, neglecting the *Gāyatrī* meets

* Manu iii. 167.

† Manu, i. 49.

‡ A list of the *Sanskāras* is given above, pp. 60-61.

§ See before, p. 146.

with contempt from the virtuous." It is the "mouth (or principal part) of the Vēda." Whoever practises the daily repetition of it for three years "approaches Brahma, moves as freely as air, and assumes an aerial form." All rites pass away, but it remains. "By the sole repetition of the Gayatrī, a Brāhman may indubitably obtain beatitude, let him perform, or not perform any other religious act." (ii. 76-87.)

[Here is the wonderful Mantra deriving its name from the measure (in three lines) of the Śukta of the Vēda from which it is taken :—

ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः

तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि

धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

Om ! bhur bhuvah svah !

Tat savitur varēnyam bhargo dēvasya dhīmahi ;

*dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayāt.**

—Om ! Earth ! Sky ! Heaven !—We contemplate that praiseworthy Sun (*Savitṛ*), of divine lustre ; may he direct our intellects !]

This Gāyatrī, it is afterwards enjoined, must be repeated several times at dawn and dusk (which form with the noon the three daily times of *Sandhya* with the Hindus), on the penalty of the Dvija being excluded, like a Shūdra, from the sacred observances of the twice-born (ii. 101-3).

The Brāhman disciple must acquire his knowledge of the Vēda from his preceptor, lest he should prove a thief and sink to the region of torment (ii. 116), yet in times of difficulty he may learn the Vēda from other sources (ii. 241). Neglect of the prescribed form of returning a salutation deprives him, like a Shūdra, of the right of salutation (ii. 126).

Wealth, kindred, age, conduct, and learning entitle men to respect. "The seniority of Vipras," however, "is from knowledge ; of Kshatriyas, from valour ; of Vaiśhyas, from wealth and grain ; and of Shūdras from (the priority of) birth" (ii. 136, 157). A Brāhman neglecting the study of the Vēdas becomes, with his descendants, like a Shūdra (ii. 168). He is not allowed to pronounce sacred texts, till his new birth occurs, before which he is on a level with a Shūdra (173). A *Brāhman* student, but not a *Rājanya* or a *Vaiśhya*, must be a mendicant (190).

* Rig-Veda, iii. 40, in which, however, the words *Om bhur bhuvah svah* do not occur. The selection of the Gāyatrī for distinction as a Mantra seems to have originated in the prevalence of solar worship among the ancient Indians.

When treating of the married state Manu thus ordains:—"Only a *Shūdra* woman ought to be the wife of a *Shūdra*; she and a *Vaishya*, of a *Vaishya*; they two and a *Kshatriya*, of a *Kshatriya*; those two and a *Brāhman*, of a *Brāhman*." (iii. 13.) Marriages, however, must now be confined to parties belonging to each caste respectively.* Manu mentions also the eight kinds of Indian marriages allowed in his day† (iii. 21, 41). The minute and strange rules for the intercourse of married persons (iii. 45, 50) I pass over.

In domestic management there are five places of extinguishment of life,—the hearth, the millstone, the broom, the pestle and mortar, and the water-jar; but penance for the stain thus occasioned is performed by the five great sacrifices;—reading the *Vēda*; offering cakes and water to the manes of ancestors; offering oblation to fire in behalf of the deities; giving food to animals; sacrificing for departed spirits (*bhūtas*), and practising hospitality for men. (iii. 68-90.) A *Brāhman* may be a guest in the house of a *Brāhman*, but not a *Kshatriya*, unless he eat after the *Brāhman*s (100, 110, 111).

The following parties, among others, are to be avoided by *Brāhman* householders in connexion with their daily rites:—*Brāhman*s guilty of theft, atheists, gamblers, those who perform many sacrifices for the vulgar, physicians, *Dvāḷaka* (dressers of images), and flesh-sellers. The following parties must all be shunned:—a messenger, a person with bad nails or blackish teeth, an opposer of his preceptor, a phthisical man, a feeder of cattle, a younger brother married before the elder, an elder brother not married before the younger, a dependant on the wealth of relatives, a dancer, an *Avakirṇā* (a person of the first or fourth *Aśrama* who has violated chastity,) a *Vṛishalipati*,‡ the son of a twice-married woman, a man blind of an eye, one in whose house an adulterer dwells, a teacher of the *Vēdas* for hire, one who has given hire to such a teacher, the pupil of a *Shūdra* and a *Shūdra* preceptor, a rude speaker, and a *Kuṇḍa-golaka* (the son of an adulteress either before or after the death of the adulteress), one who eats with a *Kuṇḍa*, a seller of the *Soma*-plant, a traveller by the ocean, a *Bandi*,

* See *Mitāksharā*, i. 3. (p. 7 of Cal. ed.)

† See before, p. 239.

‡ See before, p. 265. But *Kuṭṭika Bhaṭṭa* makes the *Vṛishalipati* an individual (of the *Dejia*) who instead of marrying in his own caste marries a *Shūdra*.

an oilman, a drinker of spirits, a seller of liquid, a maker of bows and arrows, a father instructed in the Vēda by his son, a leper, etc. The following parties must be shunned with great care—tamers and keepers of animals, a Brāhman living as a Shūdra, a sacrificer to the Ganas, one who does not practise *āchāra*, the husband of a twice-married woman, and the remover of dead bodies. (iii. 150-166.) The alleged penalties for neglecting these injunctions are, in some instances, of an alarming character. "Food given to the seller of the moon-plant becomes ordure in another world; to a physician, pus; to a *Dēvalaka* (dresser of images), offal; to a usurer, infamous" (181).

Minute information and directions about the Shrāddhas to the manes of ancestors and to deities follow. The most favourable place for a Shrāddha is some unfrequented place. If there be no consecrated fire into which some of the oblations may be dropped, they may be dropped into the hands of a Brāhman, who is the equivalent of fire (212). The Brāhman must be very careful about his manner of eating. What he eats with his head enveloped, with his face to the south (the habitat of the Rākshasas), with his sandals on his feet, the demons assuredly devour. He should not be seen eating by a Chandāla, a pig, a cock, a dog, a woman in her courses, or a eunuch. The fool who gives the residuum of the Shrāddha to a Shūdra falls into the hell *Kālasūtra*. The superfluous *piṇḍas*, or lumps,* may be given to a cow, to a Brāhman, to a kid, or to fire. Not only are the ministrant Brāhmans satisfied, but the manes themselves. They are satisfied, according to the code, for a month by the common grains and pot-vegetables; for two months, with fish; for three months, with the flesh of the antelope; for four, with mutton; for five, with eatable birds; for six, with the flesh of the kid; for seven, with that of the spotted deer; for eight, with that of the black-antelope; for nine, with that of the *runu* (*nīlgāi*?); for ten, with that of the boar and buffalo; for eleven, with that of hares and turtles; for a year, with cow's milk and the food cooked of it; for twelve years, with that of the long-eared white goat; for ever with the *kālashāka* (the enduring vegetable), with the flesh of a rhinoceros, and of the iron-coloured kid, with honey, and with foreign grains eaten by hermits. (iii. 238, 239, 249, 260, 267, 271).

* Often rendered funeral cakes.

Animal food, however, is now generally abstained from at Shrāddhas, according to the following smṛiti:—

अग्निहोत्रं गवालंभं संन्यासं पलपेतृकं ।

देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिः कलौ पंच विवर्जयेत् ॥ *

“The Agnihotra, the slaughter of cows, Sauntyāsa, (the use of) flesh at the feast for the Pitris, the raising of offspring by the brother of (a deceased) husband, are five things forbidden in the Kali (Yuga)”. Of these the Agnihotra and Sauntyāsa, however, are still in practice, having been said to have been restored by Shankara A'chārya.

When treating of the means of subsistence for the Brāhman householder, Manu, as we have seen, allows him to live by truth or falsehood, but not by hired service.† A Brāhman, when hungry, may beg from a king, the institutor of a sacrifice, or his own pupil, but from no person else. He has ever to pay respect to objects esteemed sacred. He must not step over a string to which a calf is tied, nor run when rain [the gift of Indra] falls, nor look on his own image in water. He must pass a *mridanga* (a kind of drum,) ‡ an object of worship, a Brāhman, clarified butter, honey, a place where four paths meet, or large trees, with his right hand towards them. Particular rules, stated with disgusting particularity (and much dwelt on in the principal law-books) he has to observe when relieving nature. He must not dwell in a city governed by a Shūdra king, nor in one abounding with persons of low-caste. He must not stand with Chāndālas, Pukkāsas, or Antyāvasāyins, or give spiritual advice or read the Vēdas to Shūdras. He is never to despise a Kshatriya, a serpent, or a Brāhman. He has to wear no marks which do not belong to him. He is forbidden to eat polluted food, and that offered* to him by persons of other castes, the legislation of Manu on these matters being similar to that of Angiras already noticed. A cultivator, a herdsman, a Dāsa, a barber, etc. may, however, eat the food of their superiors. (iv. 23, 39, 79, 99, 130, 135, 210, 253.)

It is not necessary to repeat what is said by Manu on the diet of Brāhmans§. In addition to former notices, this may be given:—The

* Laugākshi, quoted in the Nirṇaya Sindhu, iii. 1.

† See before, p. 21.

‡ Sir William Jones translates this, a mound of earth.

§ See before, pp. 32-3.

man who performs annually, for a hundred years, an *ashvamedha*, (or horse-sacrifice,) and the man who abstains from flesh-meat have equal merit (v. 53).

The institutes of Manu on the subject of purification are similar to those of Angiras, though somewhat more extended. Those referring to purification for the dead occupy a chief place in the code. When a child is born, or when he dies in maturity, all his kindred are impure. By a dead body the *Sapindas* (the seven orders of descent in the kin, entitled to eat the *pinda* or lump together) are impure for ten days, or for three days, when the bones have been gathered up (before the knowledge of the death has been acquired), or for one day only in the case of distinguished Bráhmans. *Samánodakas*, those entitled to make the oblation of water together, and embracing all known relatives not included in the *Sapindas*, become pure by simple ablution. Matters are the same in the case of births, for those who seek absolute purity. In practice, however, a mother is unclean for ten days after a birth, while a father becomes pure by bathing; *Sapindas* become pure in ten days after touching a corpse; *Samánodakas*, in three. The pupil of a Bráhman preceptor becomes pure in ten nights, after attending the preceptor's funeral. For the death of a vender of the whole Vêda, a man dwelling in the same house with him is impure for three nights. A subject is impure for a day or night on the death of a king. In the cases in which a Bráhman becomes pure in ten days, a Kshatriya is purified in twelve, a Vaishya, in fifteen, and a Shúdra, in a month. He who touches a *Dirákirti* (one like a Chandála), a fallen one, a woman in her courses, a new-born child, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse, is purified by bathing. A Bráhman touching a human bone moist with oil is purified by bathing; touching a bone not oily, by touching a cow, or looking at the sun, after performing an *dachamana*. There is to be no giving of funeral water for Vrátyas and those who belong to the mixed castes, for female devotees, etc. A king on the throne is always pure. So is a Kshatriya dying in battle. (v. 58, 59, 61, 65, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 94, 98.)

As to the purification of inanimate objects, Manu agrees with Angiras, enumerating, however, more instances of defilement. He gives the following mitigations, however, of the bondage in which the doc-

time of *Shaucha* and *Ashaucha* places the Indian community. To Brahmins, are pure what has been defiled without their knowledge, what in cases of doubt they sprinkle with water, and what they commend with their speech. Waters are not defiled by cows quenching their thirst in them. The hand of an artist, the food got in begging by a Brahmachári, the mouth of a woman, fruit pecked by a bird, an animal sucking, a dog in catching deer, animals killed by hunters, all the cavities above the navel, flies, the drops from the mouth of a speaker, the shadow of an object, a cow, a horse, the sun-beam, dust, earth, air, and fire, are all pure even when touching and touched. (v. 127-133.)

To remove natural impurities various ceremonies are resorted to. (v. 134-139.)

Shúdras regardful of religion have to shave once a month, to observe the laws of purity like Vaishyas, and to eat the orts of the Dvijas. (140.)

The laws respecting women found in Manu, I here pass over, with the intention of onwards referring to them.

The *Vanaprastha* and the *Sannyási* are to be as observant of purity as the householder. To the latter the following injunction is addressed.—“Let him advance his foot purified by looking (at what is before him) ; let him drink water purified by cloth ; let him utter pure truth ; let him keep his heart pure.” (vi. 46.) Here the ceremonial and moral are combined. His dishes must have no fracture, nor be made of bright metal. Their purification must be only with water, as in the case of sacrificial vessels. A gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen dish, and a basket made of bambu, are the vessels proper for the reception of his food. As a penance for his unknowingly killing animals, he has to make six *prāṇāyāmas* (suppressions of breath) daily. (53, 54, 69.) Notwithstanding the commendation given to ascetics, the áshrama of the householder, who observes the Vēda and the Smṛiti, and supports the other orders, is the chief. (89.)

Much of the legislation recorded in Manu regarding the Kshatriya, or ruler, is more of a civil than a religious character, though this distinction, properly speaking, is not admitted in the Hindu writers. Caste partialities are not wanting in the prescription of the duties of a king, as has been already shown in a former part of this work.* In his administration of law, he has to regard not only what is

* See before, pp. 37-41.

alleged to have been revealed, but the peculiar customs of countries, tribes, castes, etc. (viii. 46.) Regard is to be had by him to the dignity of the several castes in the administration of oaths. He has to examine Bráhmans, however, who act as herdsmen, traders, artisans, dancers, singers, and hired servants, as if they were Shúdras (viii. 102). A Bráhman, he has to swear by his veracity; a Kshatriya, by his conveyance and weapons; a Vaishya by his cows, grain, and gold; and a Shúdra by the imprecation of all kinds of sins. (113.) The three lower classes he may fine, as well as banish for falsehood, but Bráhmans he must simply banish. (123.) The awful severity of punishments prescribed for parties insulting Bráhmans has already been noticed.* For theft (the meanness of which seems to have been prominently in the view of the Hindu legislators) a Bráhman is to be more severely punished by fine than others. The fine of a Shúdra in this case is eight-fold; of a Vaishya, sixteen-fold; of a Kshatriya, thirty-two-fold; and of a Bráhman, sixty-four-fold, or even more.† (338.) Touching a married woman on (the breasts) or any place which ought not to be touched, and enduring complacently the improper touch of a woman, are to be viewed as a species of adultery. (359.) Women guilty of adultery are to be most severely punished. A woman polluting a damsel is to get her head shaved, two fingers chopped off, and to be paraded on an ass. An unfaithful wife of high family is to be devoured by dogs, while her paramour is to be burned to death on an iron bed well heated. (371-2.) Committing adultery with a guarded Bráhmaṇi, a Shúdra has to suffer death; a Vaishya, has to lose his wealth; and a Kshatriya has to be fined a thousand *panas* and shaved with the urine of an ass. (374-375.) A Vaishya committing adultery with an unguarded Bráhmaṇi is to be fined five hundred, and a Kshatriya, a thousand (*panas*); but committing this crime with a guarded Bráhmaṇi, they should be punished as Shúdras, or be burned in a fire of dry grass or reeds. (376-7.) Yet ignominious tonsure is the only punishment for Bráhmans in a case of this kind, whose death in punishment a king must not even imagine.‡ More of this partial legislation in the case of adultery is found in the context. (381-5.)

* See before, p. 22.

† A Bráhman, however, may take the property of his Shúdra. See pp. 21, 23.

‡ See before, p. 22.

Exemption from taxes is granted to persons conferring great benefits, and to Bráhmans of eminent learning, as in the case of the blind, idiotic, lame, and aged. (394.)

The supremacy of the king in all market charges, prices, measurements, and tolls is distinctly laid down. Bráhman students, and religious mendicants, and some other classes of the community are exempt from toll. (398-409.)

The king has to order the Vaishya to practise trade, or money-lending, or agriculture, or attendance on cattle; and to cause the Shúdra to serve the twice-born. (410.)

A wealthy Bráhman may contribute to the support of a Kshatriya and Vaishya, assigning them their respective duties. His power over a Shúdra in the matter of service is unlimited. (413-414, 417.)

The ninth chapter of Manu treats in the first instance of Females, whose position in caste and religion we shall afterwards have occasion to notice. It then passes on to the matter of Inheritance, which is connected more with general jurisprudence than with caste, to which, however, some of its injunctions directly refer.

If there be four wives of a Bráhman in the direct order of the classes, and sons are produced by them all, this is the Smriti of partition: the chief servant in agriculture, the bull of the herd, the riding horse or carriage, the (family) ornaments, and the principal messuage shall be deducted from the inheritance, and given to the Bráhman son together with a large share by way of pre-eminence. Let the Bráhman have three shares of the residue; the son of the Kshatriya wife, two shares; the son of the Vaishya wife, a share and a half; and the son of the Shúdra wife, one share. (ix. 149-151.) An alternative arrangement, however, is also sanctioned. (152-156.) This legislation from the progress of time, and the change of usage, is now obsolete in the Hindu community. The marriage of the Dvija of any of three Varnas to any female not of his own caste is forbidden in the Kali Yuga.*

For a Shúdra is ordained a wife of his own class, and no other: all produced by her shall have equal shares, though she have a hundred sons. (157.) A son begotten through lust by a Bráhman on a Shúdra

* See quotation from the Brihan Náradiya, in the Nirṇaya Sindhu, chap. 3, near the end.

is like a corpse though alive, and thence called in law a living corpse or *pétrashava*. (178.)

The property of a Bráhmaṇ dying without heirs near of kin or distant relatives (*sapindas* or *samánodakas*) is to be given to Bráhmaṇs who have recited the three Védas, and who are of purity and subdued passion, and who have to present water and the funeral cake to the father, grandfather and great-grandfather whom they thus represent. The property of a Bráhmaṇ (contrary to the rule in other castes) is never to be made an escheat by the king. (186-189.)

Eunuchs and outcastes, persons born blind or deaf, madmen, idiots, the dumb and such as have lost the use of a limb, are excluded from a share of the heritage, though entitled to food and raiment. (201-2.)*

Those who neglect the duties of their caste, are with public dancers, singers, heretics, etc. to be banished by the prince. (225.)

A Kshatriya, Vaishya, or Shúdra may discharge his debt by labour.† A Bráhmaṇ is to discharge it by degrees. (229.)

The slayer of a Bráhmaṇ, a drinker of ardent spirits, the stealer of the gold of a Bráhmaṇ, and the violator of the bed of his father (natural or official) are criminals in the highest degree. (235.) Such parties who may not have performed an expiation are to be branded in a particular way, and to be treated as outcastes. With none to eat with them, with none to sacrifice with them, with none to be allied by marriage to them, abject and excluded from all social duties, let them wander over this earth: branded with marks they shall be deserted by their paternal and maternal relations, treated by none with affection, received by none with respect. (238-9.) The Bráhmaṇ guilty of any of these crimes is to be banished; while the offender of other classes, even though the offence may have been unpremeditated, shall be corporally or even capitally punished.

* With this agrees the doctrine of Yajñavalkya and of the other authors of the Smṛitis *Mitáksharā*. ii. 10-1, etc.

† *Karma*. In 1835, I witnessed, at Dváraká, a curious application of this principle under the administration of the agents of H. H. the Gáikawád. A Hindu tailor, who had attached himself for the sake of companionship to my servants on the road to that wild part of India, took a *darshan* (religious view) of the god Rághob without paying the established fee of nine rupees. He was apprehended in consequence, and condemned to ply the needle for a month and a half, (conveniently) to the repair of the clothing of all the officials concerned.

A virtuous king must not appropriate the wealth of a Mahápátaka, a sinner in the highest degree. He ought to throw the fine inflicted (on such a person) into the waters as an offering to Varuna, or give it to a learned Bráhmaṇ. (243-4.)

A person of low caste (avaravarna) giving pain to Bráhmans should receive a terrific punishment from the prince. (248.) Horrible punishments, indeed, are ordered to be inflicted on other classes of offenders. Special hate is manifest to the goldsmith, who is ordered to be cut to pieces with razors when guilty of fraud. (276-292.)

The king is cautioned against incensing Bráhmans, who could destroy him with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars. (313.)*

On Vaishyas and Shúdras is enjoined the discharge of the duties specially assigned to them.†

The tenth chapter of Manu treats principally of the Mixed Castes. I have already extracted its substance.‡ Some caste arrangements are intimated in connexion with the alleged genesis of the different castes and the occupations assigned to them.

The Chāṇḍāla and Shvápāka must live exterior to towns, be denied the use of entire vessels, and have as their sole wealth dogs and asses. Their clothes must be those of the dead, their dishes broken pots, their ornaments rusty iron. Continually must they wander from place to place. Other classes must have no intercourse with them. They must not walk by night in cities and towns. They must carry the corpses of those who die without friends. Their duty is to slay criminals under the king's warrant, and their privilege is to receive their clothes, beds, and ornaments. (51-6.)

The offspring of a Bráhmaṇ from a Shúdra woman shall be raised to the class of the father in the seventh generation. The same is the law as to the offspring of a Kshatriya and of a Vaishya by a Shúdra woman. (61-5.) But these dicta are now obsolete, as the wives of the Dvija must now be of their own class.§ They are worthy of notice, however, as indicating corruption in the Brahmanical blood in ancient times. It is curious to mark in connexion with them, the following extraordinary law:—"As by virtue of the father's issue the descendants of

* See in connexion with this the quotations, made at p. 24, above.

† See before, p. p. 44-50.

‡ See before pp. 53-60.

§ See before p. 377.

animals have become reverend and celebrated Rishis (exemplified says Kullūka Bhatta in Rishishringa, in the Rāmāyana), so (it is seen) that the paternal side prevails. (72.)

In noticing the occupations in which the Dvijās may engage when straitened for subsistence, there is a great discouragement of agriculture, destructive of animal life ; of the sale of liquids, dressed grain, tila seeds (unless for sacred purposes), stones, salt, cattle, men, women, cloth dyed red, cloth made of Sana, Kshumā-bark, wool (even though not red) ; of fruit, roots, drugs, water, arms, poison, flesh-meat ; of the Soma, milk, honey, clarified butter, oil (of tila), sugar, and the Kusha grass ; of forest beasts ; of ravenous beasts, spirits, indigo, lākshā (lac), and beasts with uncloven hoofs. " By selling flesh, lākshā, or salt, a Brāhman instantly becomes an apostate ; by selling milk for three days, he becomes a Shūdra." (86-92.) The sale of some of these articles is interdicted because of their supposed sacredness, because of the loss of animal life in their production, or because of their alleged impurity or liability to ceremonial defilement.

The advantage of each caste seeking to discharge its own duties is illustrated by the following statute and maxim :—

वरं स्वधर्मो विगुणो न परक्यं स्वनुष्ठितः।

परधर्मेण जीवन् हि सद्यः पतति जातिनः॥

"One's own imposed duty though worthless is paramount,—not that of another party, though well instituted ; the person living by a strange course-of-duty falls instantly from Caste." (97.)* The Brāhman in distress, however, may receive gifts from any quarter (atonements being at hand). To save life forbidden food may be taken, as illustrated in the alleged cases of Ajigarta, Vamadeva, Bharadvāja, and Vishvamitra often referred to in the Hindu literature.† (102-8.)

This is somewhat like what we find in the Bhagavad-Gītā (iii. 35) :

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात्।

स्वधर्मे निबन्धनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः॥

"One's own religion, though worthless, is better than a strange religion, however well instituted, death in one's own religion is good ; that (the religion) of another beareth fear."

† See above pp. 150, et seq.

A Kshatriya may take the fourth part (of a crop or income) in time of distress. (118.)

Attendance on Bráhmans is the best work of a Shúdra; whatever else he may perform will be fruitless to him. (123.)

"There is no guilt in a Shúdra (who eats garlic and other forbidden articles). He is not fit for the Sānskāra (of initiation). He has neither the right of practising *Dharma* (duty), nor is any restraint placed on him in regard to *Dharma*."* (126.) Moral duties, however, are obligatory upon him.

The eleventh chapter of Manu is devoted principally to penance and expiation. It begins, however, with certain laws as to largesses. Alms are to be given to Bráhmans seeking to marry, to sacrifice, to travel; to those who have expended their wealth on sacred rites, and who desire to maintain their guru, father, or mother; to those who are Brahmácharis, and those who are afflicted with disease. These nine classes of Bráhmans are *Snātakas* (purified-ones). Jewels of all sorts are to be given to Bráhmans knowing the Védas. What is necessary to complete a sacrifice may be taken from any person, even from a Shúdra if a Vaishya (or other Dvija) be not near, since the Shúdra has no business with sacrifice. A Bráhman, without being held guilty of theft, may take a day's food from the party who for three days has failed to supply his wants. A Kshatriya must never seize the wealth of a Bráhman. He gains from the Bráhman whom he protects a sixth part of his righteousness. A Bráhman begging from a Shúdra becomes in the next birth a Chāṇḍāla. Misappropriating what he has begged for a sacrifice, he becomes a Chāsa, or a crow, for a hundred years. The person who robs the Bráhmans feeds on the orts of vultures in the other world for a hundred years. A Bráhman skilled in the law may chastise those who injure him without appealing to the king. He may use the Shruti of Atharvān (the Atharva Vēda) revealed to Angirās, for speech is the weapon of a Bráhman to destroy his enemy, as arms in the case of a Kshatriya, and wealth in the case of a Vaishya and Shúdra. (xi. 1-31.)

Neither a girl, nor a young woman, nor a man of little learning, nor a dunce, nor a diseased person, nor the uninitiated, is permitted

* This verse, which I have partially supplemented according to Kullūka Bhatta, has given much trouble to modern commentators.

to sacrifice. Only one who has read all the Védas must officiate at an oblation to fire. (57-8.)

No man must sacrifice without bestowing liberal gifts. (40.) A priest who keeps an agnihotra, and neglects his fire, must perform the chándráyana for one month, his neglect being equal to the slaughter of a son. (41.)

Proceeding to enter more formally on the doctrine of penance, Manu repeats the following noticeable dicta :—"The wise say penance (is effectual) for involuntary sin ; and others say that it is available, from the evidence of the Shruti, even for a voluntary offence. A sin involuntarily committed is purged by Védic repetition ; but an offence committed intentionally, through infatuation, by various special penances." (45-6.) For certain offences deliberately committed, there is now no available penance.

Morbid changes in the body are said to occur for sins committed in the present birth, or in those by which it has been preceded. To escape these, penances ought to be resorted to. (48-54.)

Some sins are thus classified :—

I. *Mahápátakas* (Great Sins).

Brahmacide, Surápána (drinking of spirits), theft (of a Bráhmaṇ's gold), adultery with the wife of a guru, and associating with parties guilty of these crimes.

II. *Pátakas* (Sins):—

1.—False pretension (as to caste), bringing a false charge before a king, falsely accusing a guru,—which are nearly equal to killing a Bráhmaṇ.

2. Forgetting the Brahma (the Vēda), showing contempt for the Vēda, giving false evidence, killing a friend, eating what is forbidden, or what is unfit to be tasted,* which six (faults) are like spirit-drinking.

3. Appropriating a deposit, and stealing a man, a horse, silver, a field, a diamond, or any other gem, are nearly equal to stealing (the gold of a Bráhmaṇ).

4. Carnal dealing with sisters of the same womb, with a little girl, with women of the low castes, or with the wife of a friend or son,—which are said to be nearly equal to the violation of the bed of a guru.

III. *Upapātakas*, (Sins of a lower degree):—

Cow-killing, sacrificing for outcastes (*patitāh*), adultery, selling oneself; deserting a mother, a father, a guru, the reading of the *Vēda*, the (sacred) fire, or a son; the marriage of a younger brother before the elder, or the omission of the elder to marry before the younger; giving a daughter to either of them, or performing their nuptial sacrifice; defiling a dāmsel, usury, breaking one's vow (of chastity as a student); selling a tank, a garden, a wife, or a child; becoming a *Vrāya* (by neglect of initiatory rites); abandoning a kinsman, teaching the *Vēda* for hire, learning it from a hireling, selling articles not to be sold, having property in mines, putting large machines to work, destroying medicinal plants, living by (the harlotry of) a wife, preparing charms to destroy, cutting down green trees for fuel, performing rites for self-interest, eating prohibited food (once without a previous design), neglecting the (sacred) fire, theft, non-payment of debts, having dealings with untrue *Shāstras*,* excessive attention to music or dancing, stealing grain, the base metals, or cattle, intercourse with a drunk woman; killing a woman, a *Shūdra*, a *Vaishya*, or a *Kshatriya*, atheism.

IV. The Caste-destroying sins (in addition to the preceding, to which they are inferior):—

Giving pain to a *Brāhman*, smelling spirituous liquor or anything unfit to be smelt, cheating, unnatural practices with a male.

V. Sins reducing a person to a mixed caste:—

Killing an ass, a horse, a camel, an antelope, an elephant, a goat, a sheep, a fish, a snake, or a buffalo.

VI. Sins excluding from social repasts:—

Accepting presents from blameable persons, engaging as a merchant (in the case of a *Brāhman*), serving a *Shūdra*-master, and speaking unturth.

VII. Sins causing defilement (*mala*):—

Killing an insect, a bird, or a worm; eating what has been carried with liquor; stealing fruit, wood, or flowers; and discomposure of mind. (55-70.)

This classification of sins and offences, it will be noticed, is made altogether on the principles of Caste, which are most remarkable for

* असच्छास्त्राधिगमनं. The reference is probably to Buddhist works.

their partiality. Killing a Bráhmaṇ and stealing his gold are of course the greatest offences which can be committed. In a similar category is placed the drinking of spirits by a Bráhmaṇ. The reason is stated onwards. "A drunk Bráhmaṇ may fall on something impure, or may when intoxicated make a Védic utterance, or perform some unlawful act." (97.) Eating things prohibited is more heinous than incest and unnatural crime, or killing a woman, a Shúdra, a Vaishya or a Kshatriya. Even giving pain to a Bráhmaṇ causes a loss of caste.

The penances for the offences committed, so far as they are available, are regulated on the same caste principles. A Bráhmaṇ killing a Bráhmaṇ (inadvertently) may dwell in a forest for a dozen of years, feeding on alms, and contemplating the skull of the slain. A Kshatriya doing this, has to make himself a mark to archers or cast himself thrice headlong into blazing fire. A king, doing it, has to perform (with great presents) one of the six great sacrifices. Alternatives are also allowed, among which is the surrender, in the case of the rich, of property to a Bráhmaṇ learned in the Védas; or walking to the source of the river Sarasyatí. The preservation of a cow or Bráhmaṇ atones for brahmicide. The stealer of the gold of a Bráhmaṇ has (either to the destruction of his life or otherwise) to be struck by a king with an iron mace; but if the offender be a Bráhmaṇ he can get off by the performance of tapa. Caste lost by the offences above specified voluntarily committed is recovered by the *sántapana*, and involuntarily, by the *prájápatya*. For exclusion from society the *chándráyana* is available. For killing a Kshatriya the penance asked is only the fourth part of that required for killing a Bráhmaṇ; for killing a Vaishya, an eighth; for killing a Shúdra, a sixteenth. If a Bráhmaṇ kill a cat, an kshmeumon, a *Chúsha* (the Indian blue jay), a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl, or a crow, he has to perform the same penance as for killing a Shúdra, that is the *chándráyana*. (70-132.) A Bráhmaṇ having connexion or eating with a Chándála, or other low-caste woman, or receiving gifts from such a person, loses his own caste if he acts unwittingly, and sinks to a level with them if he acts wittingly. (175.) The associate for a year of a fallen person falls like him; and must perform his prescribed penance. (176.)

After noticing these and other penances, Manu treats of the method of excluding from caste. The Sapindas and other relatives of the

patita must offer (to his manes as if he were dead), in the evening of an unlucky day, a libation of water,—his connections, an officiating priest (*Ritsik*), and his guru being present; a slave-girl breaking the pot (of water); and the kinsmen remaining impure for a day and night. They must afterwards cease to speak or to sit with him, withhold all inheritance and property from him, refuse him common attentions, and deprive him of his rights of primogeniture. Other parties also must cease to have any intercourse with him. A similar course is to be observed in the case of outcasted women, who may be permitted, however, to be humbly fed, clothed, and lodged in huts near the family residence. (183-6-9.) Manu contemplates the possibility of restoration to caste after this formidable ejection (187-8); but this restoration by penance, after the breaking of the pot, seldom, if ever, now occurs in Indian society.

Manu, as reported, again returns to the subject of penances, the last laws found in the *Sanhitá* ascribed to him not fitting in appropriately with those already noticed.

Neglecters of the *Gáyatri* and the sacred string (at the appointed time) are admissible to them after penance.

A person saying humph! to a *Bráhma*n must bathe, fast for a day, and clasp the feet of the offended party. (205.) For striking a *Bráhma*n with a blade of grass, tying him by the neck with a cloth, and overpowering him in argument, the offender must fall prostrate before him. (207.) A person intending to strike a *Bráhma*n with intent to kill remains in hell a hundred years, actually striking him, a thousand. Every drop of a *Bráhma*n's blood shed and attracting particles of dust, demands a thousand years' torment for each of these particles. (206-7.)

The prescribed penances are next explained, and those of the *Prájápatya*, *Sántapana*, etc., but in a way somewhat different from that stated in the notes above appended to *Angiras*, which correspond with the prevalent Brahmanical interpretation. (211-226.) The alleged benefits of penance and repentance are stated at length. *Tapa* is declared to be all-prevalent. (240.)

Even in connexion with the future world, the subject principally treated of in the twelfth, or last, chapter of Manu, Caste is made to appear with all its pretensions and partialities.

When treating of the three qualities of *Satva*, *Raja*, and *Tama* (purity, passion, and darkness), said to be inherent in the productions as well as in the essence of Deity, and their connexion with transmigration (*janmántara*), and their division into their conditions of the lowest, the mean, and the highest, he places *Shúdras* and *Mléchchhas*, with elephants, horses, lions, tigers, and boars in the middle condition of the *Tamasa* quality;—only worms, insects, reptiles, etc. being below them; while *Cháranas*, *Suparnas*, and “deceitful men,” and even the devilish *Rákshasas* and *Pisháchas*, are put above them in the highest place of this quality. (xii. 41-44.) *Jhallas*, *Mallas*, and *Natas* (said by the commentator to be *Vrátyas* of the *Kshatriyas*,) *Manu* places in the *Rájasa* condition, above all the parties above mentioned. Of course the *Bráhmans* are placed in the condition of purity, according to their own grades;—devotees (*Tapasvís*), mendicants (*Yatis*), and common *Bráhmans* (*Vipras*) arriving at the lowest state of purity; sacrificers and *Rishis*, at the middle; and *Brahmá* and the *Bráhmans* participating in creation (the *Prajápatís*) at the highest. (xii. 48-50.)

The slayer of a *Bráhma*n must enter the body of a dog, a boar, an ass, a camel, a bull, a goat, a sheep, a stag, a bird, or of a *Chandála* or *Pukkasha*. (55.) The stealer of the gold (of a *Bráhma*n) must pass a thousand times into the bodies of spiders, snakes, etc. (57.) Individuals of the four *Varnas* for omitting their peculiar (Caste) duties must enter sinful bodies, and become slaves to their foes. A *Bráhma*n making this omission becomes an *Ulkámukha*, (with a mouth like a flame of fire,) and devours what is vomited; a *Kshatriya*, a *Katápútana*, and eats ordure and dead bodies; a *Vaishya*, a *Maitrákshajyotika*, and feeds on pus; and a *Shúdra*, a *Chailáshaka*, and feeds on lice. (70-2.)

The *Bráhmans*, from their caste position and the possession of the knowledge of spirit (*átmájñána*) and of the *Véda* are said to have peculiar facilities for the attainment of future bliss. (82-87.) As fire consumes with its own power living trees so he who knows the *Védas* consumes the taint of his own (sinful) acts. (101.)* On the failure of ocular inspection of the *Védas*, of inference, and of the *Shástra*, that which instructed *Bráhmans* propound is to be held to be indubitable law. (105, 109.)

* This sentence is a Brahmanical proverb. We have met it before in *Angiras* (shloka 102).

The contents of the larger portion of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* and of the comment upon it of Vijnānēśhvara, contained in the *Mitāksharā*, are given by the late Mr. Borrodaile, of the Bombay Civil Service, in the Appendix to His Reports of Civil Causes decided by the Bombay Court of Sadar Adālat.* Better Indices (in Sanskrit) are contained in the Calcutta edition of the work published in 1813, and in the Bombay lithographed edition of 1863. After the extracts now made from Manu, it is not necessary for the objects of this work that the references to that Law-book should be very numerous.

The Shruti, Smṛiti, pure A'chāra, love of one's soul (or self), and good desires are the foundations of religion. (i. 1-7.)

The mantras, or sacred texts, in the Sanskṛas, or Sacraments, are to be used by Dvijas, but not by Shūdras.

The teacher should instruct his disciple in Shauca and A'chāra, (ceremonial purity and observance) before teaching the Vēdas. (1.2.7.)

A Brāhman should receive the *Upanayana* in his eighth year from conception or birth; a Kshatriya, in his eleventh; and a Vaishya, in his twelfth. A Brāhman not receiving it before his sixteenth year, a Kshatriya before his twenty-second year, and a Vaishya before his twenty-fourth year, are to be esteemed *Vrātyas* and fallen from the *Sāvitrī*. (i. 6. 29.)

During eating, silence has to be maintained; and water has to be drunk before and after eating.

In connexion with the duties of a householder the following instructions are given. The purification and relief of the body are to be attended to. The teeth are to be rinsed. The Homa is to be performed morning and evening. The Vēdas and Shāstras are to be studied. The worship of God is to be conducted. Water is to be poured out to the gods and ancestors. The Vēdas, Purānas, Itihāsas and what treats of the Soul, are to be repeated. Balikarma (sacrifice to ghosts), Svadhā (sacrifice to ancestors), Homa (sacrifice to the gods),

Svādhyāya (sacrifice to *Brahmā*), and hospitality to men, are the five daily great sacrifices. A portion of the food used in these sacraments is to be thrown to dogs, *Chāṇḍālas*, and crows. Then, husband and wife, after other inmates of the family are satisfied, have to eat what remains. (i. 5. 1-30.)

The following are said to be the common duties universally of all men:—Abstinence from killing, truthfulness, abstinence from theft, (ceremonial) purity, the control of the senses, the imparting of gifts, selfcommand, compassion, endurance.* (15. 26.)

A *Brāhman* sacrificing with what he has begged from a *Shūdra* becomes a *Chāṇḍāla*; and not sacrificing with what he has got for a sacrifice, he becomes a *bhāsa*, or a crow. (1. 5. 31.)

No intercourse is to be maintained by *Snātakas* with hypocrites, or heretics. (1. 6. 2.) They are to dress in white clothing. (ib. 3.) Nature is not to be relieved in rivers (which are esteemed sacred). The couch, stool, garden, house, or conveyance of any other party is not to be used by a *Snātaka*. He is to take no food from a party not using the sacred fire. (ib. 32.) As stated by *Angiras*, the *Dāsa*, Cowherd, *Kulamitra*, *Ardhasirina*, and Barber may eat with the *Shūdra*. (ib. 38.)

The legislation of *Yājñavalkya* on the subject of eatables and non-eatables is similar to that of *Manu*. Flesh procured for profane purposes or with hair or maggots; food prepared for another party, or prepared on a preceding day and left by another, and touched by dogs or a woman in her courses, breathed on by cows, left by birds, or touched by a foot, is not to be ate. Food of *ghrita* or other liquids, wheat, barley, and cow's milk, though prepared beforehand, may be taken. The milk of the cow is not to be taken till the tenth day after the calving. For eating intentionally the flesh of the jay, of red-footed (birds), and of fishes, fasting is to be observed for three days. The *Chāṇḍāyana* is to be performed for eating onions, village-pigs, mushrooms, village-fowls, leeks, and carrots. Of certain five-clawed animals he may eat as already intimated (i. 7) by *Manu*.† But, in the case of

* अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः।

दानं दमोद्व्यं क्षातिः सर्वेषां यमसाधनम् ॥

† See before p. 32.

Brāhman, all use of animal food is now discouraged, though it is resorted to by certain classes of them.

On the purification of articles, the legislation of Yājñavalkya is similar to that of Angiras. (i. 8.)

The section on Dānadharmā (or largesses) opens with the praise of the Brāhman, who are to be the objects of the liberality prescribed. The gift of a cow with the calf half-born is the best of all gifts; it is like that of the earth itself. The giver obtains by it a year of heavenly bliss for every hair of its body. Gold, tila-seeds, lamps, grains, trees, horses, chariots, couches, etc., etc., are suitable gifts. (i. 9.)

For the performance of Shrāddhas, either on the occasion of births, deaths, eclipses, or the (ninety-six) established occasions in a year connected with days and months, Brāhman learned in all the Vēdas, skilled in the knowledge of Brahma, and various relatives, are to be called. Brāhman diseased, blind of an eye, of loose character, of adulterous origin, with badnails, with black teeth, imperfectly clothed, of evil speech, practising merchandise, teaching for hire, without manhood, practising fornication, disaffected to friends, backbiters, sellers of the Soma, abandoners of gurus or parents, eaters with Kuṇḍa-golakas, holders of intercourse with outcastes, thievish, of bad conduct, and of bad report, are not to be invited. (i. 10 3-8.)

The propitiating of Gaṇapati and of the planets, which is treated of at some length, is the duty of all castes, though particularly binding on the prince. (i. 11, 12.)

The duties of the prince are laid down, somewhat after Manu, with certain variations. When he gives land to Brāhman, the deed of gift should be on cloth or on copper-plates, with his seal and the names of himself and ancestry attached. (i. 13. 10-12). He is encouraged to give in charity of the fruits of his valour; and he is assured that paradise (*svarga*) will be the result of his death in battle. (ib. 15-16). He has to preserve the *dēśadhāra* and *Kulasthiti* (the customs of countries and families.) (ib. 35.)

In the second chapter, which treats of *Vyavahāra*, or the Law of Common Life, in which the legislation is of a character superior to that of the first, —there is but little directly connected with Caste. Yet some important matters are to be noted in it. In discharge of debt, the claims of the Brāhman, and next in order those of Kshatriyas, Vaishtyas, and

Shúdras respectively, are to be regarded. (ii. 2. 5.) The convenience or Bráhmans is to be consulted in the payment of their debts. (ib. 7.) A son should pay the debts of a father not heard of, or deceased, or incapacitated [according to Vijnānēshvara, on the authority of Nárada, when he has the power of administration on becoming sixteen years of age.] Corporal punishment is not to be inflicted on Bráhmans. (ib. ii. 3. 12.) Double or triple punishment is to be inflicted on the revilers of the Pratiloma Castes,* while only half punishment is to be inflicted on the revilers of the Anuloma. The revilers of Bráhmans, kings, and gods are to be punished according to the *uttama sáhas* (in the highest degree, with a fine of 1,000 paṇas); of the other castes, with the *madhyama sáhas*, (the middle degree, of 500 paṇas; and of towns and countries with the *prathama sáhas* (the first degree, of 250 paṇas). (ii. 16-1-8.) A person not a Bráhman giving pain to a Bráhman should lose the member by which he has offended him; threatening a Bráhman with an upraised weapon, he should suffer the *prathama sáhasa*; and merely touching a weapon in the thought of using it against a Bráhman, he should suffer the half of this punishment. (ii. 17-4.) A man committing adultery in his own caste is to be punished according to the highest scale; with a person lower than his own caste, according to the middle class; and with a person, higher in caste than himself, with death, while the woman is to be deprived of her ears and nose. Persons carrying off girls of higher caste than their own are to be punished with death. A person of high caste having intercourse with a low caste woman desiring it is guiltless; but having intercourse with such a person not desiring it he is blame-worthy. (ii. 22. 4-6.) A person of caste having intercourse with an *antyaja* woman, is to be stamped with a mark, or abandoned in disgrace. A Shúdra having intercourse with an *antyaja* woman becomes an *antya*. An *antyaja* having intercourse with an Aryan woman is to be put to death. (ii. 22-12.) Any person defiling a Bráhman by an article forbidden to be ate is to be punished with the highest fine; thus defiling a Kshatriya, with the middle fine; thus defiling a Vaishya, with the low fine; and thus defiling a Shúdra with the half of the low fine. (ii. 23. 2.) A Shúdra, assuming the marks of a Bráhman should be fined eight hundred paṇas. In this legislation, there is only a general

* See before pp. 63-64.

agreement with that of the other Smritis. For much of Vijnānēshvara's Commentary on Yājñavalkya there is no foundation in the text. The annotator, as he proceeds, draws copiously on other authorities.

A child dying before the completion of its second year is to be buried and not burned. (iii. 1, 1.) The ceremonies needful on burning the dead are not to be repeated in the case of Brahmachāris and the degraded, or in the case of heretics, the unprotected, fratricides, sensualists, drunkards, or suicides. (ib. 5-6.) The great source of comfort held out to the bereaved is the fact that death is the resolution of the body into the five elements. (9.) Persons who may have carried the dead to be burned should not be touched for a day. (16.) Parents are ceremonially unclean for three or for ten days after the death of a child not older than two years. (18.)* A Kshatriya is impure for twelve days, a Vaishya, for fifteen, and a Shūdra for thirty, (while a Brāhman is impure only for ten days), on occasion of the death of an adult relative. (22.) No Shūdra should attend the burning of a Dvija; and no Dvija, that of a Shūdra. A king does not become impure by the death of his relations; and no impurity arises from those who die in defence of cows and Brāhmanas. (27.)

In times of distress, a Brāhman may follow the Dharma of a Kshatriya or of a Vaishya (iii. 2. 1), abstaining, however, from selling forbidden articles (2-4).

The origin of the four castes is stated according to the orthodox view. (iii. 4. 71.)

Atonements for various offences are prescribed as in Manu. (iii. 6.) In the case of Mahāpatakas a Shūdra has not the privilege of *jāpa* (repeating mantras) and some other ceremonial observances of the higher castes; but by using the other means prescribed for twelve years, he may make an atonement for his offences under this heading. (iii. 7.1.)

A thousand oxen or cows are to be given for the homicide of a Kshatriya, or a Vrata for the slaughter of a Brāhman, observed for three years;† a hundred cows for that of a Vaishya, or a Vrata for

* The difference about the time of impurity in this instance is attributed to the different teachings of the authors of the Smritis. Manu mentions ten days for its continuance.

† In the case of the inadvertent slaughter of a Brahman, the penitential Vrata (begging with a skull in hand) has to last for twelve years. (iii. 6. 37.)

one year ; ten cows for that of a Shúdra, or a Vrata (a voluntarily imposed penance) of six months. (iii. 8. 2-3.)

For the slaughter of a bad wife of a Bráhmaṇ, a leather skin for drawing water has to be given ; for that of a Kshatriya, a bow ; for that of a Vaishya, a goat ; for that of a Shúdra, a ram, (iii. 8. 4) ; and for the slaughter of a good woman what is given for the slaughter of a Shúdra. (5.)

The benefits of hearing or repeating the Smṛiti of Yájuṇavalkya are said, at the close of the treatise, to be gréat indeed. It makes a Bráhmaṇ venerable, a Kshatriya victorious, and a Vaishya rich and prosperous. The poor Shúdra has to be satisfied with the information he may get of it from the Dvijas, according to his exigencies as they may occur.

In the *Paráshara Smṛiti*, the general contents of which I have already noticed,* no regular arrangement is observed. The work is reckoned a great authority in the Kali Yuga ; and it is evidently more modern than some of the other law collections of its class. It gives the following list of Smṛitis at its commencement :—those of Manu, Garga, Gautama, Vasishṭha, Kashyapa, Gopála,† Atri, Viṣṇu, Sanvartta, Daksha, Angirás, Shátátapa, Háríta, Yájuṇavalkya, A'pastamba, Shankha and Likhita, Kátyáyana, Prachétá, and Shrutirája (Paráshara ?). Manu, it is added, prevailed as an authority in the three first Yugas, while the A'chára of the three Yugas is not for the présent Kali Yuga. *Tapa* was the highest duty in the Kṛita Yuga ; knowledge, in the Tréta ; and sacrifice in the Dvápára ; while the giving of largesses is the highest duty in the Kali. The Dharma (religious law) of Manu was for the Kṛita ;

* At p. 357.

† In the copy referred to by Dr. Stenzler (Ind. Stud. i. 232) the name of Ushanas here occurs for that of Gopála.

that of Gautama for the Tréta; that of Shankha and Likhita for the Dvápára; and that of Paráshara is for the Kali. The party guilty of a fault infected a country in the Kṛita Yuga; in the Tréta, a village; in the Dvápára, his family; and in the Kali, himself. A person became *patita* (fallen from caste) in the Kṛita, by conversation; in the Tréta, by contact; and in the Dvápára, by eating (forbidden) food; while in the Kali, by deeds. In the Kṛita largesses were taken to the house (of the party to be benefited by them); in the Tréta, by calling him to receive them; and in the Dvápára, by simply relieving the asker; while in the Kali, they are to be bestowed only for service. In the Kṛita, the *prāṇas* (five vital airs) were in the elements (of the body); in the Tréta, in the flesh; in the Dvápára, in the blood; while, in the Kali, they are in the food. The *Dvijas* are not to be blamed for the peculiarities of the respective Yugas. In the Kṛita, curses took immediate effect; in the Tréta after ten days; in the Dvápára, after a month; while in the Kali Yuga, after one year.* Pure religion and truth in the Kali have only a fourth part of their proper dimensions. Life is shortened (in this Yuga) by eating forbidden things. *Dharma* and *tapa* are practised only for ostentation. There will be much false speaking for the sake of wealth. Little milk will be yielded by cows? The earth will yield but little grain. Woman will bear only females. The intercourse of the sexes will be only for pleasure. Princes (*Bhúpálas*)

* Professor Monier Williams correctly says, in his excellent Inaugural Lecture, that the curse of a Bráhmaṇ is always supposed among the Hindus to take effect sooner or later.

will be subjected to Dasyus. Shúdras will have the A'chára of Bráhmans ; and the Dvijās that of Shúdras. The high castes (ádyavarnas) will earn their livelihood like the lowest (antyajas). The Kṛita Yuga was for the Bráhmans ; the Trétá for the Kshatriyas ; the Dvápára for the Vaishyas ; and the Kali is for the Shúdras. Women of the lower castes will not be married with the higher according to the law which permitted the Dvijas to add to the wife of their own class one from each of the lower of the four Varnas. Duty and sin will be commingled. The merit which was of a million degrees of fruit in the Kṛita was of a hundred thousand in the Trétá, of ten thousand in the Dvápára, and will be of a hundred in the Kali. (i. 1-13-39.) Specific legislation follows this general account of the modifications caused by the Yugas.

The Dvijas should live where the black antelope moves, between the Himavat and the Vindhya, where the ocean-going rivers flow, where the great tirthas are found, and where the Rishis dwell. This is the land of purity ; but Shúdras may live where they are inclined. The country is bad where things not to be drunk are drunk, not to be eaten are eaten, and where unlawful connexions are formed. (i. 1-40-45.)

A Bráhmaṇ may give food to a Kshatriya, a Vaishya, or a Shúdra visiting him at the time of a meal. (i. 6. 12-13.)

The general duties of the four Varnas are laid down as in Manu and the other Smṛitis. It is declared, however, to be a sin, even on the part of a Shúdra, to sell spirits or flesh. (i. 7. 1-14.)

The water thrown (for consecration) on the horn of a cow is sixteen times better than that of all the tirthas of the rivers and oceans of the earth. (i. 8. 28.)

If a Dvija eat food on the last day of the moon (*chandrakshaya* vulgo *amāvásyá*) he will lose his merit for the month. (i. 8. 37.)

The áchára of families and countries is strongly inculcated on all classes of people, as their supreme duty. (i. 9. 200.)

A Shúdra is in the matter of *dāna* to be reckoned like a fool, to whom nothing is to be given, (i. 9. 217.)

A Dvija eating of the food of a person not on the right road, or of a mean person, becomes instantly like a Shúdra ; and after death he becomes a village-pig (*vilashākara*). He who eats the food of a usurer, or of a shepherd, or of a person who has lost caste, goes to hell. A Dvija eating from the hands of a Shúdra wife goes to the Raurava hell. (i. 9. 284.)

Dvijas should not perform any religious services or sacrifices to get gifts from Shúdras, on the penalty of becoming chándālas. (i. 9. 293)

Animal food may be ate at Shrāddhas and sacrifices, and in times of famine. (i. 9. 317.)

The following classes of Bráhmans are not to be employed at Shrāddhas:—The blind of an eye, he who has broken a contract of marriage, a diseased person, a backbiter, a usurer, an ungrateful person, a wrathful person, a hater of friends, a person with bad nails or black teeth, one wanting a limb or having a superfluous limb, a eunuch, one of bad report, one of bad speech, one who teaches for hire, a polluter of virgins, a shopkeeper, a seller of the Soma, one ruled by his wife, one of illegitimate birth, a forsaker of his parents, a thief, a *vrishalipati*, one ignorant of his own duties, one who has a wife who has been before married, a goatherd or keeper of buffaloes, one accused of evil deeds, a receiver of unlawful presents, one who habitually lives on alms, an astrologer or a messenger, one who, after eating on the burning-ground on the eleventh day after the death, has not taken the prescribed atonement, etc., etc. (v. 1-12.)

Arrangements should be made to prevent Bráhmans at Shrāddhas imitating the sound of Shúdras, swine, cocks. (v. 58.)

A Bráhman begging regularly from low caste people, from Mléchhas, and distillers, is pronounced a Baka, or heron. (v. 53.)

In the case of death or birth there is no impurity to the liberal, to those who are addicted to making vows, to poets, to sacrificers, to Agnihotris, to the skilled in the six-Angas (of the Védas), to a king, to a persons skilled in the shruti. In the kali (yuga) there is no impurity except what may be removed by immediate ablution. A Bráhman attending the funeral of a Shúdra is impure for three days. (vi. 11-12)

If a Dvija be touched by a Chándāla when making water, he must

fast for six nights. If a Bráhmaṇ when eating be touched by another Bráhmaṇ, he must sip water and repeat the names of Viṣṇu; if a he be touched by a Kshatriya, he must fast till night; if, by a Vaishya, he must in addition to this fast, swallow the five products of the cow; if by a Shúdra, or a dog, he must fast for a day and night; if by a washerman, or other low castes, he must perform the half of the prájápatya penance. If a Bráhmaṇ when eating be touched by a woman who is impure from a birth or restraint, or by a Mlénchha, he must fast till sunset, and bathe in water kept for a day. (vi. 48-57.)

Shabarás, Pulindas, Kíkatas (aboriginal tribes), and Náṭas are like washermen. If a Vaishya go to a woman of the washerman caste, he has to take cow's urine, and half-ripe barley for six days, or perform a double kriehhra. (vi. 312-314.)

The rules for defilement in eating given by Paráshara are similar to those of Angiras.

Food cooked in the house of a Shúdra may be ate at a river when sprinkled with its water, accompanied by a repetition of the Gáyatrí. Unboiled grain, flesh, clarified butter, honey, oil, and different kinds of fruits are impure while they are in the vessels of Mlénchhas, but pure, when taken from them.* Milk, curds, and clarified butter are pure when in the vessels of the Abhiras (viewed as cowherds). Market wares are pure while in the hands of the venders. (vi. 315-324.) The rules for the cleansing of vessels are like those of Angiras and Manu.

A Brahman is not to accept gifts when in a state of impurity from births or deaths. When he receives gifts from a Bráhmaṇ, he has to acknowledge them in a loud voice; from a Rájanya, in a gentle voice; from a Vaishya, in a whisper; and from a Shúdra, in his own mind. With a Brahman, he has to commence by saying *Om*; with a king he has to utter thanks without the *Om*; with a Vaishya, to whisper thanks; and with a Shúdra, to wish thanks, imagining himself to say, *svasti* (this is good). (vii. 82-88.)

The whole administration of *Shúnti*, or propitiation, of the gods,

* From the specification of the Mlénchhas, or Barbarians, in connexion with these products, it seems to be warrantable to infer that the articles were sometimes imported into India at least from the neighbouring provinces.

elements, devils, etc., and of houses, temples, tanks, etc. is in the hands of the Bráhmans (ix, passim).

The work concludes with a statement of the doctrines and practices connected with the Yoga.

The best digest of Hindu law, all things considered, is probably to be found in the *Mayúkha* of Kamalákara Bhaṭṭa, to which reference has already been made. Its twelve Rays, or divisions, are not always arranged in the same order. With a view to indicate the application of these divisions to such of the social customs of the Hindus as are more or less connected with Caste, I notice their contents, at greater or less length, as needful for the objects of this work.

(1.) In the *Sanskára Mayúkha*, after some general references to the authoritative literature of the Hindus, we have notices of eleven of the sixteen Sacraments, in connexion with which the peculiarities of the four A'sh-rámanas of the Bráhmans, and the general duties of Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shúdras, and women are treated of. In this department of the work, however, there is nothing which we have not already noticed.

(2.) In the *Shánti Mayúkha*, which treats of the propitiation of the gods and other objects of fear, we have the following principal sections:—

The worship (*pújá*) of Gaṇapati.

The ablution (*snápana*) of Vináyaka (Gaṇapati).

Sacrifice to the Planets.

Characteristics (for good or evil) of the Planets.

Characteristics of Gaṇapati and of the Lokapálas (guardians of the Cardinal Points).

Directions for the Homas (burnt-sacrifices) of 100,000, 1,000,000, or 100,000,000 *dhutis*, or oblations.

The Pújá of Houses.

The Pújá of the Arches of Gateways.

The Pújá of objects resembling the Deities, as of Nandí, Garuḍa, etc.

The Propitiation of the Grahayogas (conjunctions of the Planets).

The Propitiation of the Planets, in their individuality.

The Propitiation of Ráhu and Kétu, (the ascending and descending Nodes), but viewed as devils seizing the sun and moon, and causing their eclipse.

The Arka-Viváha, the third marriage of a Bráhmaṇ, made first to the Asclepias gigantea, and afterwards to the bride.*

The Shánti of a woman's courses.

The Shánti of the birth of a calf.

The Shánti of new teeth.

The Shánti of a birth occurring on the fourteenth day of the decrease of the moon.

The Shánti of the full-moon, and of the last day of the moon.

The Shánti of a birth occurring on the day of the new moon.

The Shánti of the Nakshatras (Lunar Mansions).

The Shánti of a birth occurring during an eclipse.

The Shánti of the Viṣa-Ghaṭiká (the Poisonous or unlucky Ghaṭiká of the thirty ghaṭikás in a day and night).

The Shánti of the Gaṇḍānta-Yoga (an unlucky conjunction of the Nakshatras).

The Shánti of disgusting occurrences.

The Shánti of the entrance of the sun into particular signs of the zodiac.

The Shánti of falling into fevers, etc.

The Shánti of days specified in the Sūtras of A'shvaláyana.

The Shanti of eclipses.

The Shánti of injuries to receptacles of water and fire.

The Shánti of the falling of great walls.

The Shánti of disease in trees.

The Shanti of the falling of lizards.

The Shánti of village and wild animals, as of the dove, crow, horse, and elephant.

(3.) The contents of the *Vyavahára Mayúkha* are

* Has this custom originated from the shame of third marriages, prevalent among the olden Hindus?

so similar to the chapter on the same subject of the *Mitákshára* of *Yájñavalkya*, to which we have already referred, and bear so little on caste observances, that we have little to notice connected with them.

When enjoining the preservation of the customs and laws of country, caste, and family (for the content of the people), it mentions that the *Dvijas* of the South take the daughter of a mother's brother in marriage; that those of the Middle-country act as artizans and eat kine; that those of the East eat fish and have wives who are prostitutes; and that those of the North drink intoxicating liquors, and approach their women when they should not be touched: and it holds that they are not deserving of punishment on these accounts.*

The evidence of parties connected with particular *Vargas* (classes) is to be taken in cases in which these *Vargas* are concerned. The evidence of foreigners and women is to be taken, too, in their special affairs. The evidence of a person fallen from caste is not to be taken.†

Outcasted persons have no share in inheritance.‡

Caste-communion, it is maintained according to injunctions of the *Smritis* already noticed, is not to be held with a person who has passed the sea in a ship, even though he may have performed penance for it; and therefore connexion with such a person in this *Yuga* is reprehensible.

Nārada is quoted as saying that a woman left to her own will (*svairinī*) who is not a *Bráhmaṇī*, may have connexion with a man of higher caste than herself, though not of a lower, though the man himself is reprehensible.§ *Yāma* is quoted as teaching that a *Bráhmaṇī*, having connexion with a *Shúdra*, is to be devoured by dogs, and having connexion with a *Kshatriya* or a *Vaishya* is merely to have her head shaved and to be carried round on an ass.¶

A creditable translation of the *Vyavahára Mayúkha* was published by Mr. Borrodaile of the Bombay Civil

* *Vyavahára Mayúkha*, i. 1.1 3.

† *V. M.* ii. 3. 6-7.

‡ *V. M.* iv. 11. 3. This law of inheritance is now disavowed under the British Government.

§ *V. M.* iv. 29. 11.

¶ *V. M.* iv. 19. 12.

Service in 1827. The work, too, was translated into Máraṭhí by Raghunátha Shástrí Dáté. •

(4.) In the *Práyaschitta Mayúkha*, after general statements on the nature and objects of atonements and penances, prescriptions are made for sins committed in a former birth, (indicated by diseases, ailments, etc.) ; directions are given for ablutions by sand and by water ; the specific acts of general penances are mentioned ; and the distinctions of offences are enumerated. Penances are prescribed for a party falsely accused of offences ; for a man cut short in his days ; for drunkenness ; for eating what is forbidden ; for eating flesh ; for taking food with a person engaged with a sacrament ; for eating food injured by keeping ; for theft of gold ; for intercourse with low-caste women ; for adultery ; for intercourse with beasts ; for gambling ; for familiarity with parties guilty of offences ; for touching the leavings of meals ; for minor sins ; for sacrificing for the unworthy ; for abusing virgins ; for abandoning the household fire ; and for miscellaneous faults.

(5.) In the *Shráddha Mayúkha* the general doctrine and practice of Shráddhas is treated of. But this subject, as far as caste is concerned, has been already exhausted in the preceding pages.

(6.) The *Samaya Mayúkha*, which treats of the times and seasons of religious services, and the duties of days and months, does not bear upon Caste, though it strikingly illustrates the formality and bondage in which the Hindu worshipper is constantly kept. The Manu Sanhitá, it tells us, prevails in the Kṛita Yuga ; the Gautama, in the Tréta ; the Shankha and Likhita

in the Dvápára ; and the Paráshara in the Kali. The following laws, formerly current, it also tells us, have been repealed in the Kali Yuga.

The law permitting the raising up of issue upon the widow of a deceased brother.

\\ The law allowing a girl mentally intended to be given to a particular husband to marry another husband should he die.

\\ The law allowing Bráhmans to have four wives, (one of each of the primitive castes), Kshatriyas to have three, and Vaishyas to have two.

\\ The law allowing the killing of Bráhmans in the act of attempting murder.

\\ The law allowing Dvijas who may have passed over the sea to be received into caste on their performing penance.

The law allowing the performance of *Satradikshá* (sacrificing) for all classes of men (not lower than Shúdras).

\\ The law allowing the carrying of a water-pot (the emblem of entering into the Sanyásáshrama.)

\\ The law allowing *Maháprasthánagamana* (walking on pilgrimage, in the direction of the Himálaya, till the pilgrim be carried off to heaven).

\\ The slaughter of a bull for sacrifice.

\\ The drinking of spirits, even at the Sautránamú (the sacrifice to Indra).

\\ The law allowing entrance into the *Vánaprastháshrama*.

\\ The law forbidding the capital punishment of Bráhmans deliberately committing a Mahápitaka.

\\ The law requiring the exaction of atonements for familiarity (*sansarga*) with sinners.

\\ The law requiring penances for sins committed in secret, with the exception of theft.

\\ The law allowing the use of flesh in Shráddhas.

\\ The law permitting filiation by other ways than by birth or adoption.

\\ The law requiring the abandonment of a wife for common sins (smaller than adultery).

\\ The law requiring one to give up his own life in the protection of cows and Bráhmans.

- ✓ The law allowing the sale of the Soma juice.
- ✓ The law requiring the killing (by officiating Bráhmans) of animals in sacrifice (the deed being now done by Shúdras).
- ✓ The law allowing a householding Bráhmaṇ, on a long pilgrimage, in difficulties, to eat from a Dása, Gopála, Kulamitra, Ardhasíri.
- ✓ The law allowing Bráhmans to obtain a livelihood in times of difficulty by doing the work of Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras.
- ✓ The law allowing a Sányási to beg and receive Dakṣhiṇá from all castes, to stay ten days anywhere as a guest, and to lodge wherever he might be found at sunset.
- ✓ The law forbidding the wandering of Bráhmans.
- ✓ The law forbidding a Bráhmaṇ to blow into fire with his mouth.
- ✓ The law interdicting the giving of evidence in cases between a father and a son.
- ✓ The law requiring the Brahmacharya A'shráma to last for forty-eight years (from the binding of the sacred string, being twelve years for the study of each Vēda).
- ✓ The law allowing the marriage of maternal cousins.
- ✓ The law allowing the killing of cows.
- ✓ The law allowing the sacrifice of men and horses.
- ✓ The law allowing the re-marriage of females.
- ✓ The gift of a larger share (in inheritance) to the eldest son.
- ✓ The law sanctioning the performance of the Rájasúya.
- ✓ The law ordering the practice of ordeal (which some nevertheless think advantageous).

These thirty-four instances of repeal very decidedly prove the mutability of the Hindu laws, a fact which should not be overlooked by native reformers.* In qualification of the repeal of the laws respecting Agnihotra and Sanyása, it is added that they may be practised while the distinctions of Caste and the Vēdas are acknowledged.

(7.) In the *Niti Mayúkha* the duties of kings are treated of much as in the Law-book ascribed to Manu.

* The list here given is considerably larger than that found in the General Note appended to Sir William Jones's translation of Manu.

(8.) The *Pratishthā Mayūkha* treating of the consecration of temples, houses, fortifications, images, etc., deals with religious and not caste observances.

(9.) The *Utsarga Mayūkha* treats of celebrations connected with shrines, idols, tanks, wells, etc.

(10.) The *A'chāra Mayūkha* treats of the practical religion of life, and is very extensive and comprehensive. Much of it is devoted to caste-matters, but to caste-matters more as they affect individuals than as they affect social intercommunion. The following are the principal subjects of which it treats, drawing its materials principally from the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas :—

How the Dvija should get awake at the Brāhma Muhūrta (the last Muhūrta of the night).

How the natural evacuations should be effected; how the parties seeking relief should turn to the north during the day, and to the south during the night; how silence should be observed, and solitude sought; and how cleansings should be effected by water or earth, etc.

How *āchamana* (the sipping of water, and spitting it out again) should be performed—on relieving nature; on dining; on touching the leavings of food; on the passing of wind; on being touched by cats, and other impure animals; on uttering falsehood; on commencing any religious work; on seeing a crow, a washerman, a musician (*vēna*), a fisherman, or a dancer; on speaking with a *chandāla* or *mlēchha*; on speaking with a woman or *Shūdra*⁹, before washing the hands after dinner; on shedding tears or blood; on touching a place where cows, Brāhmans or women are killed; on dreaming; on sneezing or spitting; on seeing persons defiling themselves; on falling before a guru; on eating leaf and betelnut; on putting on new clothes; and on touching a woman during her *sūtika* (of ten days after a birth). The number of *āchamanas* needed on particular occasions is also stated.

How, and when, and with what kind of wood, the rinsing of the teeth is to be performed, and not performed. The stick of a Brāhman

ought to be of twelve finger breadths; of a Shúdra, Vaishya, and Kshatriya, of six finger-breadths; and of a woman of four finger-breadths. Particular woods used are lucky, and others unlucky.

How the *paritra*, or ring of Kusha grass, to be worn on the fourth finger, is to be worn at certain religious and other services. A Bráhmaṇ should use four blades of grass; a Kshatriya, three; and a Vaishya, two.

How ablutions should be performed. They are classed into the necessary, the voluntary, the occasional, those needful for cleanliness, and the secondary. The first season for them is the morning. The gradation of merit of waters rises as follows:—still waters, flowing waters, the ocean, tirthas, the Ganges. The face should be turned to the east in bathing. After ablution a Bráhmaṇ should clothe himself in white vestments; a Kshatriya, in red; a Vaishya, in yellow; and a Shúdra, in blue. The Dvijas should use mantras in bathing, but Shúdras should not use them. Ablution should follow the touch of a Cháṇḍála, a woman in her courses, an out-caste, a Sútiká, a corpse, or the touch of a person defiled by touching any of these objects, a Dévalaka (dresser of images) when out of a temple, a Buddhist, a Páshapata, a follower of Kapila (according to some testimonies), an ill-behaved Dviĵa, any person who should not be touched, one shedding tears, and a newly shaved person.

How the *tilaka*,* or religious mark, is to be applied to the body. The clay to be preferably used is to be that of the top of a mountain, of the bank of a river, of the Bráhmakshétra, of the coast, of the sea, of an anthill, of the roots of the Tulasi plant, and of Gopichandana from Dváravatí (Dváraká). It is to be daily applied for the destruction of sin. A black tilaka is favourable to peacefulness; a red one, to bringing parties into one's power; and a yellow one, to wealth. The Vaishnavas (sectarial followers of Viṣṇu) ought to have a white tilaka. The application of the tilaka by the thumb, produces fatness; by the middle-finger, water or heaven; by the next finger, food; and by the fore-finger, liberation (from births). According to the Vaishnavas, there are twelve places for applying unguents,—the forehead, the belly, the region of the heart, the neck, the two sides of the belly, the middle arms, the tips of the ears, the elbows. When applying them to the forehead,

* The root of this word is *tila*, to be unctuous.

(during the brightening half of the moon) the name *Késhava* is to be pronounced ; when to the belly, *Nárāyaṇa* ; when to the heart, *Mád-hava* ; when to the throat, *Govinda* ; when to the sides, *Vishṇu* and *Vámana* ; when to the arms, *Madhusúdana* ; when to the ears, *Trivikrama* ; when to the elbows, *Shrídharma* and *Hrishíkésa* ; when to the back, *Padmanābha* or *Dámodara* ; and when to the cerebral region (not mentioned above), *Vásudeva*. When the unguents are applied during the darkening half of the moon, the preceding names are to be taken in the reverse order. The forms of the unguents should be as follows :— on the forehead, that of an upper arm ; on the ear, that of a rod ; on the breast, that of a lotus ; on the belly, that of a flame ; on the arm, that of the leaf of a bambu ; on the back, that of the rose-apple. The best tilaka, from the tip of the nose to the hair, is of ten finger-breadths ; that of middle worth, of nine ; and the lowest in value, of four, three, or two finger-breadths. Without attention to these matters, *Karma* (the fruit of works) is lost. Figures of the conch-shell, and *chakra* (sacred discus) should be applied to the body of the *Vaishṇava*. The leaves of the *tulasí* should also be ate by him. These injunctions are said to be according to the *Brahmá Purāṇa*. [According to *A'shvaláyana* here also referred to, sectarial marks should not be used during Védic ceremonies.] According to the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, the *Urdhva-paṇḍra* (the upper marks of *Shiva*) are to be made by clay, sandalwood, ashes, and water ;—after bathing, by clay ; after the homa, by ashes ; after the worship of the gods, by sandalwood ; on doing any ceremony connected with water, by water. If the unguent be by clay, its lines are not to be horizontal, but vertical ; if by ashes, they are not to be vertical but horizontal. They are to be used, according to *Kátyáyana*, at shráddhas, sacrifices, *japas*, homas, the oblation to the *Vishvédévas*, and the worship of the gods (*suras*). The places for applying ashes are the forehead, the breast, the navel, the throat, the shoulder and upper arm, the back, and the head. The *Shivamantra* or *Gáyatrí* of the *Atharvavéda* is to be used when the application is made. A householder should apply the ashes with water ; and the *Vánaprastha* and *Sanyási* should apply them without water. The horizontal marks of a *Bráhman* should be six finger-breadths long ; of a *Kshatriya*, four ; of a *Vaishya*, two ; and of a *Shúdra* and others below him, of one. If the (*Shaiva*) *Bráhman* make not the *tripuṇḍra*

(the ternary of lines) he becomes *patita* (fallen). Those who mock the parties wearing these marks are the offspring of Shúdras. From these notices, it is apparent that the tilaka marks are chiefly of a sectarial character.

How and where the ceremonies of *Sandhyá* at morn, noon, and evening are to be performed.

How the *Homa* is to be performed; how charity is to be dispensed; how the five great Yajnas are to be managed; how libations are to be poured out to ancestors, to Bhishma, to Yama, and to the gods.

How *Pujá* (material worship) is to be given to the gods; and what flowers and leaves are acceptable or unacceptable to various gods; and what are the suitable objects and places for *pujá*. In connexion with this matter, it is said that a Bráhmaṇ ought to worship Viṣṇu as Vá-sudéva; a prince, as Saṅkarṣhaṇa; and a Vaishya, as Pradyumna; and a Shúdra, as Aniruddha. A Bráhmaṇ ought to have four images; a Kshatriya, three; a Vaishya, two; and a Shúdra, one. The worship of the Sháligráma ought to be confined to Bráhmaṇs. A Shúdra pronouncing the sacred syllable Om, worshipping the Sháligráma, or going to the wife of a Bráhmaṇ, becomes a Chándála. A Bráhmaṇ, whether pure or impure, ought, according to the Linga Puráṇa, to be the agent in worshipping the Sháligráma. If a Shúdra or a woman touch it, its touch will prove like that of a thunderbolt. Women, noninitiated Bráhmaṇs, and Shúdras have no right to touch the emblems of Viṣṇu or Shiva.

How *pujá* is to be performed. A Bráhmaṇ teaching a Shúdra to pronounce the sacred Om or *sváhá*, becomes a Shúdra, and the Shúdra goes to hell.

How the worship of clay images (of the linga, etc.) should be performed.

How at the worship of gurus, gifts should be given to them.

How the *homa* of the Vishvédévas is to be performed.

How the five maháyajnas are to be performed.

How *Bhojanas* (feedings) are to be effected. The *maṇḍala* (enclosure) formed by water on the ground for the vessel of a Bráhmaṇ, ought to be quadrangular; of a Kshatriya, triangular; of a Vaishya, circular; and of a Shúdra, semicircular. The vessels used ought to be of gold, silver, copper, bell-metal, or of the leaves of the lotus, or the palásha

(*Butea frondosa*). However, a *Brahmachári*, *Yati*, or widow, should not dine either from bell-metal or the *palásha* leaf. Nothing is to be ate of animals with five toes. Numerous and minute rules are to be observed in the further proceedings. The three first classes must neither eat nor drink with the left hand. Should a *Dvija* violate this rule, his offence will be like[†] that of drinking ardent spirits. A *Shúdra*, however, may drink water with that dishonoured organ of the body. Nothing is to be taken which has fallen from the mouth. Animal food is to be avoided.* A *Dvija*, when eating, should not listen to a *Chandála*, an outcaste, or a woman in her courses. The times of eating are midday and the evening. Other injunctions, which we have already extracted from the Law-books, are to be observed.

How the evening is to be spent after lamplighting; how beds are to be arranged; and how *strikṛitya* is to be performed, except on forbidden days.

What places for sleeping are forbidden;—such as empty houses; graveyards; the place where four roads meet; places under trees; the shrines of *Mahádéva* and *Dévi*; places frequented by *Nágas* and *Yakshas*; mounds of sand or earth; and *Darbha* grass, when the *Díkshá* is being performed. Sleep is to be taken during the second and third of the four *paharas* of the night.

How dreams are to be interpreted, and their bad omens averted.

(11.) In the *Dána Mayúkhá*, the duty and privilege of giving gifts, especially to *Bráhmans*, are amply and keenly treated of. It well proves the fact, which we have already noticed, that the imparting of gifts to the priestly class is quite a science in the institutions of caste.* The following is a general view of its contents:—

What *dána* (donum) is.

Bráhmans, *Kshatriyas*, and *Vaishyas* have the right of giving *dána* according to the *Védas*; *Shúdras* and women, according to the *Pará-nas*. Gifts to *Shúdras* should be confined to food and clothing. The merit of giving to *Shúdras* is of the ratio of one; to *Vaishyas*, of two; to *Kshatriyas*, of three; and to *Bráhmans*, of six.

* See before p. 27.

Of acquisitions made, one-third should be reserved for a livelihood, and two-thirds for *dāna*, according to the work called *Shivadharmā*. Of cows every tenth should be given, according to the *Bhārata*. Gold, silver, or copper, given to a Yati (*Sanyāsi*) consigns both the giver and receiver to hell. No person who has offspring should part with all his property, or with his wife, a dependent, what is held in loan or pawn, what belongs to other members of a family as well as one's self, a pledge, what is included in *strīdhana*, and a son.

Certain times are appropriate for gifts, such as Sundays, the day of the sun entering into a new sign of the zodiac, eclipses, festivals, etc.

Gifts at holy places are peculiarly meritorious; yet those receiving them there (from a spirit of covetousness) have to perform penance.

Both givers and receivers have to perform numerous ceremonies. Gifts from Brāhmanas are to be acknowledged in a loud voice; from Kshatriyas, in a gentle voice; from Vaishyas, in a whisper; and from Shūdras, in a silent acknowledgment.

Methods of measuring and weighing in *dāna*, in the cases of money, grain, land, etc., are prescribed.

Mandapas, or tabernacles, when erected by the givers of largesses, are to be of a particular form, and of particular woods. Directions are given for the construction of the sacrificial *Kundās*, or holes, which may be made in these *Mandapas*, some of them being of the form of the vulvus, triangular, quadrangular, sexangular, lotus formed, etc. etc., the shapes being different according to the castes, a Brāhman's being quadrangular, a Kshatriya's, circular, a Vaishya's, semi-circular, and a Shūdra's, triangular. The depth of the *Kundās* is also prescribed.

The planets, the Lokapālas, or guardians of the eight directions, and Vināyaka (*Gaṇapati*) and other gods, are to be invoked. Holy mantras are to be recited. Pūjā to houses and doors is to be performed. The holy fire is to be kindled. Flowers are to be selected, fitted to please individual gods. Particular mantras are to be repeated, those of the Rīg-Vēdī and Yajur-Vēdī, and Sāma-Vēdī Brāhmanas being different.

When all things are ready, the prince proceeds to bestow his largesses,

on the Brāhmins. The Sixteen-Great-Gifts (*Shoḍasha-Mahādānīni*) according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, are the following* :—

The *Tulapurushadāna*, the weight of a man or woman in any of the precious metals, ghī, etc.; the *Hiranyagarbhadāna*, a golden fetus; the *Brahmāndakūṭāna*, the gift of gold, in the form of the mundane egg; the *Kalpātārakūṭāna*, the gift of[†] a golden tree, like that which satisfies all human desires; the *Gosahasrakūṭāna*, the gift of a thousand cows; the *Hiranyakāmalhenudāna*, the gift of a golden cow and calf, like the cow which yields what may be desired; the *Hiranyāśvavadāna*, the gift of a golden horse; the *Hiranyāśvarathadāna*, the gift of a golden chariot with (golden) horses; the *Hemahastidāna*, the gift of a golden elephant, the *Panchalāṅgaladāna*, the gift of five plows of wood, and of gold, with the bullocks added; the *Dhārādāna*, the gift of gold in the form of the earth, a mountain, etc.; the *Vishvachakradāna*, the gift of a golden wheel, or discus; the *Kalpātārakūṭāna*, the gift of ten golden creeping plants, with flowers; the *Saptasāgarakūṭāna*, the gift of seven large oceanic golden vessels, of a cubit in diameter and depth; the *Ratnathēnudāna*, the gift of a cow formed of set jewels; the *Mahābhūtaghatadāna*, the gift of a large golden vessel, of a hundred finger-breadths, filled with milk or clarified butter. Minute rules are laid down about the times and places at which and the methods by which these gifts, so acceptable to the Brāhmins and meritorious before the gods, are to be given.

Besides these Sixteen-Great-Dānas, there are also the Ten-Great-Dānas of the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, the *Dashāmahādānīni*. They are as follows:—gold, a horse, tila, anāga (cobra serpent in gold), a slave girl, a chariot, land, a house, a daughter, and a tawny-coloured cow.

Other *Dānas* (with notices of some of the preceding) are treated of according to various authorities,—as those of a white horse, of a copper vesselful of sesamum seeds, of a waterpot of a student filled with these seeds, of an elephant, of a chariot, of land, of a house, of sheep, of a shelter, of ten cows (of molasses, ghṛita, water, milk, curds, honey, sugarcane juice, sugar, cotton, salt, and gold), of a golden-horned cow, of a cow and a calf when the birth is taking place, (which

* The Shoḍasha Mahādānas are, with a few variations from the *Matsya*, treated of in the *Linga* and other *Purāṇas*. See *Linga Purāṇa*, second part, pp. 56-75. *Punā* edition.

will secure a safe passage across the infernal river Vaitarāṇī), of a female buffalo, of a goat, of odoriferous substances (from the mountains Gandhamādana, Vipula, and Supārshva), of a *bhādranidhi*, an ocean of happiness, of an ānandanidhi, (an ocean of joy, a vessel of the fiefs glomerata, with a silver cover, and filled with gold), of images of the gods and ten Avatāras, of the twelve Adityas, of the Moon and Sun, of the nine planets, of golden images of the donor and of Kuvēra (the god of riches), of golden Śhaligrāmas, and of the golden image of Kālapurusha Yama (the god of death). •

Respecting *Kīṃyadāna* or optional or discretionary gifts, much is said. The *Kālapurushadāna*, and *Kālachukradāna*, made preparative to death, may be of an image with golden eyes, or of a silver discus, silver teeth, etc. They are said to remove the fear of death and pain, to secure the full complement of life, and to merit heaven. Similar in their objects and effects, are the *Yamadānas* and *Puskaradānas*. The *Kṛishṇājīnadāna*, the gift of the skin of a black antelope, with accompaniments, destroys the sin of seven births. The *Shayadāna*, or gift of a bed, confers beauty, riches, a ten thousand years' lease of heaven, and other benefits. The *Vastradāna*, or gift of clothes, confers, when the dresses are of cotton, entrance into Svarga; when they are of wool, entrance into the abode of the Ṛishis; when they are of the kusha grass, or of silk, entrance into the abode of the Vasus. The *Aśanadāna*, the gift of a seat, keeps disease away, and gives a taste of heaven. The *Bhajanadāna*, the gift of vessels, when they are of gold, procures the heaven of Indra; when of silver, the abode of the Gandharvas; when of copper, the abode of the Yakshas and Rākshasas, when of wood, iron, etc., lesser benefits. The *Śthālidāna*, the gift of a tray, gives fatness and pleasure. The *Pīkadāna*, the gift of cooked food, is favourable to the acquisition of power. The *Vidyādāna*, or gift of learning, consists principally in presents of books. Those enumerated are the Eighteen Purāṇas (according to the Varāha)—in their adjective names—as follows:—The Brāhma, Pādma, Vaiṣṇava, Śhaiva, Bhāgavata, Naradiya, Markandēya, Agnēya, Bhaviṣya, Brāhma-Vaivartta, Lainga, Varāha, Skānda, Vāmana, Kaurmā, Mātsya, Gāruda, and the Brahmānda; the Upapurāṇas; the Rāmāyaṇa, Bhārata, and books of the Tarkashāstra (logic), Chanda, Alankāra, of the Vēdas, Mīmāṃsa and Dharmashāstra. Power on earth, and glory in heaven,

are the consequences of liberality in this form. *Chatropánadána*, the gift of umbrellas and shoes, will give freedom from scorching heat, and from pain in walking, in the other world. *Annadána*, the gift of grain, (to serve a year) secures freedom from disease and pain. *Timbiládána*, the gift of leaf and betelnut, secures luck. *Gandhadravayadána*, the gift of odoriferous substances, keeps the body in health. *Ratnadána*, the gift of gems, keeps off pain, sin, and secures freedom (from births) at death. *Vidrumadána*, the gift of coral, has similar effects. *Udukadána*, the gift of water, according to many authorities, is very meritorious, giving happiness in heaven for a hundred yugas, etc. *Dharmmaghatadána*, the gift of a supply of vessels full of water, is like the gift of a thousand cows, and secures heaven. *Yadnopavitadána*, the gift of the sacred string,* has the merit of the Agnishṭoma. *Yashṭidána*, the gift of a staff to one needing it, keeps off disease, and a beating from Yama. *Agniṣṭakadána*, the gift of fuel, secures the Brahmaloка. The *Dipadána*, the gift of a lamp, improves the eyes, and gives prosperity, both in this life and that which is to come. *Abhyadána*, the gift of shelter to the fearful, fulfils human desires. *Māseshudánas*, gifts fit for the twelve months, keep the body sound, prevent entrance into Yamaloka, and effect direct entrance into Svarga. *Ashvathasēvana*, the care of the holy fig-tree, destroys disease. *Pānthopachāra*, feeding travellers, destroys sin, and aids in acquiring wealth. *Goparicharga*, the service of cows, procures felicity in Goloka (the heaven of Kṛishṇa). *Nānābharyadána*, distributing of money in various forms, has many wonderful effects in both worlds.

Notwithstanding the precise nature of the injunctions of the books, on the kinds, seasons, and modes of gifts, there is in modern times much that is arbitrary in the disposal of gifts. The great object of the legislation respecting them is the encouragement of liberality to the Bráhmans by all imaginable ingenious devices, and exorbitant promises both for this life and that which is to come. Though the formalities, prescribed are often

* Including the expenses of its assumption.

neglected, they are sometimes attended to, even in dispensing largesses according to the highest scale. Frequently the native princes of India are brought to notice as more or less satisfying the high demands of the parties who have the privilege of seeking alms. The calls made at marriages by Bráhmans, Bháṭṭs, and Cháráns (or family bards) in the case of the Rajputs, were often viewed as inducements to infanticide. Most enormous sums are given away in the hope of getting sons and heirs, throughout the country. "About the year 1794, Chanaghoshá, a Káyastha of Midnápur," says Mr. Ward, "gave to the Bráhmans an artificial mountain of gold. A little before this Gopála Kṛishṇa, a Vaidya of Rájánagar, presented to the Bráhmans three mountains, one of gold, one of rice, and another of the seeds of sesamum."* These mountains, he adds, need not be very large ; but it is necessary that figures of trees, deer, etc., should be seen on them. Sometimes effects not recognized by the Smṛitis, are alleged to follow munificent gifts. "Shúdras," it is asserted, "cannot pass from a lower grade to a higher ; but the Rájás of Travankur are always manufactured into Bráhmans on ascending the masnad, an important part in this transmigration being sometimes played by a golden cow, at the mouth of which the Rájá enters a Shúdra, and having crawled along its interior arrangements, emerges under the animal's tail as one of the twice-born : otherwise he bathes in a golden lotus. The gold figures are subsequently divided amongst the officiating Bráhmans.

* Ward's View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus. Vol. III. p. 292.

During the last century, two Travankur Bráhmans visited England, thereby, of course, losing their caste, which was only restored by their passing the sacred Yoní made of the finest gold, which afterwards, with many other valuable gifts, were presented to one of the temples.* The Rájá of Mahishur (Mysore), notwithstanding the embarrassed state of his finances, is said to have often given magnificent presents to Bráhmans, as well as to the temples of the gods. Among others mentioned to me by parties acquainted with his country, are a golden maṇḍapa and cradle, with pearls and precious stones, to the chief Vaiṣṇava Svámi; a thousand golden rings set with precious stones, to as many members of the priestly caste; the weight of his own body in silver (on his completing his sixtieth year); and liberal dakṣhíná to learned men. Similar presents have been given in our own day by some of the Maráthá and Rajput princes. Feastings of Bráhmans are reckoned meritorious throughout the country. In expectation of them, and with a view to do justice to them, those of the old school sometimes fast the day preceding them, and eat so copiously that they need few additional supplies the day following.

(12.) The *Shud̥dhi-Mayúkha* treats of the removal of ceremonial and other impurities. But I have extracted so much on this subject already, from Angirá, Manu, Yájnavalkya, and Paráshara,† that it is not necessary here again to attempt its exhibition.‡

* Day's Land of the Permauls, p. 314. Compare with this Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, vol. ii (2nd edit.) pp. 259-40.

† See before pp. 360 *et seq.*

‡ In the examination of the Mayúkhas, I have used my own manuscripts and those of Gaṇpatírao Gádagil, Inándár, of Wáí.

By the Smṛitis the Caste-system was brought to its full maturity, and stereotyped for ever, except in so far as it is expected to be influenced by what is held to be the lamentable and destructive progress of the Kaliyuga. In consequence of this circumstance, we need say very little, comparatively, respecting Caste as it appears in the later literature of the Hindus.

X.—CASTE IN THE HARIVANSHA.

The *Harivansha*, which is sometimes called a supplement to (*khila*), and sometimes a portion of, the Mahábhárata, is generally considered as intermediate between the Smṛitis and the Purāṇas, to which, nevertheless, it is sometimes made to refer. It treats, especially in its earlier portions after its introductory matter, of the glory of Hari, particularly in the form of Kṛishna. It contains many curious legends. It is scarcely necessary to say that it recognizes the caste-system in its integrity, though it does not mention it anywhere at any considerable length.

Of Vēna, the prince reputed to be so rebellious against the Bráhmans, it is there said that he was laid hold of by the great Rishis, who rubbed his left thigh. From this rubbing a diminutive and black man came forth, who, being afraid, remained standing with joined hands. Atri (the Rishi) seeing him afraid, said to him, *Nisháda* (sit down). He became the establisher (*kartá*) of the race of the *Nishádas*.*

The *Harivansha* recognizes *Sútas* and *Mágadhas*, in their caste occupations of encomiasts and bards.

It says that Prishadra, originally a Kshatriya, became a Shúdra for killing his guru's cow; and that two sons of Nábhágárishta, originally Vaishyas, became Bráhmans.† It also alleges, like Manu, that the Shakas, Yavauas, Kámbojas, Páradas, Pahlávas, Haihayas, Tálajanghas,

* *Harivansha* V. c. 325 *et seq.*

† II. V. xi. c. 658-9.

etc., lost their caste of Kshatriyas for rebelling against the descendant of Harischandra.* These traditions, and others of a like character, found in the Purāṇas, deal with the fact that position in Aryan society was not originally wholly dependent on birth.

To the various and contradictory accounts of the origin of Caste, the following is added :—“The renowned Sunahotra [a king of the Lunar race] was the son of Kshatravridha, and had three very righteous sons, Kāsha, Shala, and the mighty Ghritsamada. The son of Ghritsamada was Shunaka, from whence sprang the Shaunakas, Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shūdras.”† Shaunaka is also spoken of in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,‡ as having “originated the four castes.” Perhaps this prince had some hand in framing laws for their distinct recognition, as is onwards said to have been the case with king Bali.§ In the context of the passage now quoted, the Maitréyas are said to have assumed the part of the descendants of Bhrigu (the duties of the Brahmanhood,) though they had the character of Kshatriyas (as warriors ?).|| Children of [the Rishi Angiras] are also said to have been “born in the family of Bhrigu, Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas, three kinds of descen-

* H. V. xiv. See Muir's Texts i. 45. et seq. Mr. Muir thus translates the passage in the Harivansha, to which I refer :—“Aurva having performed Sagara's natal, and other rites, and taught him all the Védas then provided him with a fiery missile, such as even the gods could not withstand. By the power of this weapon, and attended by an army incensed and fierce, Sagara speedily slew the Haihayas, as if they had been beasts ; and acquired great renown throughout the world. He then set himself to exterminate the Shakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Páradas, and Pahlavas. But they when on the point of being slaughtered by Sagara, had recourse to the sage Vashishtha, and fell down before him. Vashishtha beholding them, by a sign restrained Sagara, giving them assurance of protection. Sagara after considering his own vow, and listening to what his teacher had to say, destroyed their caste (dharma), and made them change their customs. He released the Shakas, after causing the half of their heads to be shaven ; and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, after having had their heads entirely shaved. The Páradas were made to wear long hair, and the Pahlavas to wear beards. They were all excluded from the study of the Védas, and from oblations by fire. The Shakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Páradas, Pahlavas, Kolisarpas, Mahishas, Dárvas, Cholás and Kéralas, had all been Kshatriyas, but were deprived of their social and religious position by the great Sagara, according to the advice of Vashishtha.”¶

† H. V. xxix. p. 1518-20. Muir's Texts, I. 49.

‡ V. P. iv. 8.

§ H. V. xxxi. p. 1684.

|| xxxii. cc. 1789-90.

¶ Hariavansha, xiv. cv. 773-83. Muir's Texts, Vol. i. p. 182.

dants in thousands.”* In a neighbouring passage Shúdras are said to have also had the same descent.†

As in the Rámáyana, it is said that in the reign of Ráma the Kshatriyas were subject to the Bráhmans; the Vaishyas to the Kshatriyas; and the Shúdras to the three other castes.‡

Even the wild *Shabaras*, *Barbaras*, and *Pulindas* are represented as praising Aryá (the wife of Shiva).§

Of a woman performing the *Umávrata* (the vrata of the goddess Umá, wife of Shiva) it is said that she will give most magnificent presents to a pure Bráhman, such as two suits of clothing, a bed, a conveyance, a house, grain, slaves, male and female, jewels, a mountain of jewels, elephants, horses, cows, etc. etc.||

The Bráhmans, in other circumstances, are represented as receiving similar presents.¶

The reading of the Mahábhárata should, at its different stages, be accompanied with most liberal largesses.**

Inattention to Bráhmanical institutions is represented as the grand cause of the progress of the evil Kali Yuga, a most conspicuous sign of which is the usurpation by one caste of the duties of another, particularly as far as the four primitive castes are concerned.†† A shrewd guess has been made at the probable issue of the tyrannical system of caste; but this guess is associated with great blunders as to the material depravation of India, of which no sign yet begins to appear.

A mystical origin of the Bráhmans, according to their sacrificial distribution, is thus spoken of (I quote the translation and interposed notes of Mr. Muir, subjoining a note respecting the text):—“The Lord created the *Brahmá*, who is the chief, as well as the *udgátri*, who chants the Sáma Véda from his mouth; and *hotri* and *adhvaryu* from his arms.” [The text of the next verse seems to be corrupt, but it appears to refer to four kinds of priests, the *bráhmanúchhansin*, the *prastotri*, the *matrúcaranya*, and the *pratishtátri*.] He formed the *prathartri* and the *potri* from his belly, the *adhyapaka* [query *ach-*

* H. V. xxix. v. 1596-7.

† H. V. xlii. v. 2347-8.

‡ H. V. cxxxviii. v. 7895 *et seq.*

§ H. V. cclviii. near the end.

† H. V. xxxii. v. 1754.

§ H. V. lix. v. 3274.

¶ H. V. clxxxi. near the end.

†† See H. V. adh. 194-199.

ārdka?) and the *nēśhtrī* from his thighs, the *agnīdhra* and the sacrificial *brahmanya* from his hands, the *grāvan* and the sacrificial *sunētri* from his arms. Thus this divine lord of the world created these sixteen excellent *ritviks*, the expounders of all sacrifice. Hence this Purusha called the Vēda is composed of sacrifice; and all the Vēdas with the Vedāngas, Upanishads, and ceremonies, are formed of his essence.* This differs much from former notices of the priestly generation. There is no consistency in the accounts of the origin either of the Brāhmanas or of the other castes.

Further proof of this we have in the Harivansha. “Viṣṇu, sprung from Brahmā, exalted above the power of sense, and absorbed in devotion, becomes the patriarch Daksha, and creates numerous beings. The beautiful Brāhmanas were formed from an unchangeable element (*akshara*), the Kshatriyas from a changeable substance (*kshara*), the Vaishyas from alteration (*vikāra*), and the Shūdras from a modification of smoke. When Viṣṇu was contemplating colors [or castes, the word *varṇa* having both significations], Brāhmanas were fashioned with white, red, yellow, and blue colours. Thence his creatures attained in the world the state of fourfold caste, as Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shūdras:—being of one type, but with different duties, two-footed, very wonderful, full of energy, and acquainted with the means of success in all the works they had to perform. There are declared to be ceremonies prescribed by the Vēdas for the men of the three (highest) castes. By this union of Viṣṇu with Brahmā [?], by wisdom and energy, the divine son of the Prachētasas [Daksha], who was, in fact, Viṣṇu, the great devotee, passed, by means of that contemplation, [or union] into the sphere of action. [?] Hence the Shūdras, sprung from vacuity, are destitute of ceremonies, and so are not entitled to the rites of initiation (*sauśkāra*); nor have

* H. V. adh. cc. v. 11358 et seq. (Muir's Texts I. p. 36.) My manuscript of the original seems more correct than that of the Calcutta printed edition used by M. Muir. For *Adhyāpaka*, it has actually *Achāraka*, which confirms the conjectural emendation of Mr. Muir. For *Sunētri* it has *Unētā* (the equivalent of *Unettri*). The sixteen classes of priests are thus given in the manuscript commentary of Nilakantha Govinda, associated with my copy of the text:—Brahmā, Udgātā, Hotā, Adhvaryu, Brahmanāchhanṣi, Prastotā, Maitrāvaruṇa, Pratiṣasthātā, Pratihartā, Potā, Achāvāka, Nēśhtrī, Agnīdhra, Subrahmanya, Grāvastotā, and Unētā.

they a knowledge of the Védas. Just as, upon the friction of wood, the cloud of smoke which issues from the fire and spreads 'around, is of no service in the sacrificial rite, so too the Shúdras spread over the earth (are unserviceable), owing to their birth with all its circumstances [?], to their want of initiatory rites and the ceremonies ordained by the Védas."*

XI.—CASTE IN THE PURANAS.

We now proceed to the *Purāṇas* (or *Mahāpurāṇas* as they are usually called), which according to the usage of speech are stated to be eighteen; the *Upapurāṇas*, or inferior works of the same class, amounting to the same number.

The following Shloka, which is often quoted by the Pandits, is said to contain the names of the recognized *Purāṇas* :—

ब्रह्माऽम्बोरुह विष्णु शिव भागवत्संज्ञं तनो नारदं,
 माकण्डेयमथान्नि देवतमिति प्रोक्तं भविष्योत्तरं
 तस्मात्त्रिद्विवृत्त संज्ञमुदितं स्कन्दं वराहं तथा
 लिंगं वामन मत्स्य कूर्म गरुड ब्रह्मांडमष्टादशं ॥

These in their order, in the nominal form, are the following—Brahmá, Ambhoruha (Padma or Lotus), Viṣṇu, Shiva, Bhágavata, Nárada, Markandéya, Agni, Bhaviṣhyottara, Brahma-Vaivartta, Skanda, Varáha, Linga, Vámana, Matsya, Kúrma, Garuda, Brahmánda. This list, with one or two differences in the order of the names, agrees with those contained in the Bhágavata,† now a principal authority, especially in the west of India, and in the Viṣṇu and Linga Purāṇas.‡ In other

* H. V. cxi. v. 11815 *et seq.* I have adopted the exact translation of Mr. Muir's Texts, I. p. 35.

† Bhágavata, sk. xii. adh. 7.

‡ Wilson's V. Purāṇa, p. 284.

authorities, as mentioned by Professor H. H. Wilson, there are a few variations. The list of the Kúrma omits the Agni, that of the Agni, the Shiva, for which it substitutes the Váyu; that of the Varáha, the Garuḍa and the Brahmánda, for which it inserts the Narasinha. The Markandéya, with the Viṣṇu and Bhágavata, omits the Váyu. The Matsya, with the Agni, leaves out the Shiva.* Other variations are elsewhere apparent. In the Padma Purāṇa, a list is given of twenty-one Purāṇas, including some elsewhere given as Upapurāṇas, viz., the Brahma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Mártanda, Nárada, Markandéya, Agni, Kúrma, Vámana, Garuḍa, Linga, Skanda, Matsya, Narsinha, Kapila, Varáha, Brahma-Vaivartta, Shiva, Bhágavata, Bhaviṣhyottara, Bhaviṣhya. These differences, in a professedly divinely revealed canon, are rather puzzling. The Purāṇas mentioned in the different lists, however, are forthcoming. They are all posterior in their composition (whatever they may be in some of their legendary and speculative materials) to the breaking up of Hinduism into the different modern sects which now prevail throughout the country. Some of them are of a *Vaiṣṇava*, and some of them of a *Shaiva* character, while some of them favour Brahmá, or the worship of the *Shaktis*, or female principles.†

* Wilson's V. P. p. xiv.

† "It is said in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padma that the Purāṇas, as well as other works, are divided into three classes, according to the qualities which prevail in them. Thus the Viṣṇu, Náradiya, Bhágavata, Garuḍa, Padma, and Varáha Purāṇas, are *Sátrika* or pure, from the predominance in them of the *Satva* quality, or that of goodness and purity. They are, in fact, *Vaiṣṇava* Purāṇas. The Matsya, Kúrma,

The following Shloka is said to embody the names of the *Upapurānas*:

गणेशं नारदीयं नारसिंहं कापिलं
 नन्दिकेयं वारुणं दौर्वासमथानिकं
 कालिकेयं मारीचं वैशिनसं भार्गवं
 माहेश्वरं सौरवं पाराशर्यं मौद्गलं
 सनत्कुमारकंचैव कौमारं प्रजापते
 अष्टादश पुराणानि कथितानि समासतः॥

The names here given are in the nominal form as follows :—the Ganésa, Nárada, Narsinha, Kapila, Nandi,

Linga, Shiva, Skanda, and Agni Purāṇas are *Tāmasa* or Purāṇas of darkness, from the prevalence of the quality of Tamas, ‘ignorance,’ ‘gloom.’ They are indisputably Shaiva Purāṇas. The third series, comprising the Brahmānda, Brahma-Vaivartta, Markandéya, Bhaviṣhya, Vāmāna, and Brahma Purāṇas, are designated as *Rājasa*, ‘passionate,’ from *Rajas*, the property of passion, which they are supposed to represent. The Matsya does not specify which are the Purāṇas that come under these designations, but remarks that those in which the Mahātmya of Hari or Viṣṇu prevails, are *Sātvika*; those in which the legends of Agni or Shiva predominate are *Tāmasa*; and those which dwell most on the stories of Brahma are *Rājasa*. I have elsewhere stated that I considered the Rajasa Purāṇas to lean to the Shākta division of the Hindus, the worshippers of *Shakti*, or the female principle; founding this opinion on the character of the legends which some of them contain, such as the Durgā Mahātmya, or celebrated legend on which the worship of Durgā or Kālī is especially founded, which is a principal episode of the Markandéya. The Brahma-Vaivartta also devotes the greatest portion of its chapters to the celebration of Rādhā, the mistress of Kṛṣṇa, and other female divinities.” Wilson’s V. Purāṇa, pp. xii. xiii. The Brahma Vaivartta Purāṇa was appealed to during the celebrated Mahārāja Libel Case, it having been acknowledged as a special authority by Jadunāthji himself. It sets forth Kṛṣṇa (to use the appropriate denomination given by Sir Joseph Arnould) as the “love hero.”

Varuna, Durvása, Ambá (Devi Bhágavata) Káliká, Maricha, Ushana, Bhṛigu, Mahéshvara (Shiva), Súrya, Paráshara, Mudgala, Sanatakumára, Kumára, Upapuráṇas. The lists quoted by Professor H. H. Wilson do not altogether agree with this. He is certainly correct, however, in saying that, "Of these Upapuráṇas few are to be procured." Those in his possession were the Shiva, as distinct from the Váyu, (a copy of which I also have,) the Káliká, and perhaps one of the Náradiyas. The Gaṇésha and Nárada are well-known in the West of India; and so, it is said, is the Mudgala. To the list given in the Shloka above quoted, Shámráo Morojí adds the following names:—Atri, Ishvara, Káli, Déví, Bhava, Mánava, Váyu and Sámbar.* The Váyu is often a substitute for the Shiva.

In none of the Puráṇas, whatever may be their character in a sectarial point of view, is there the slightest relaxation of the system of Caste, viewed in its general aspects. Yet occasionally we find in them certain intimations and assertions worthy of notice.

1. In the *Brahma Purána*, the following passage occurs:—Reverence to thee, O tree; the Bráhmans are thy root; the Kshatriyas are thy trunk; the Vaishyas thy branches; and the Shúdras thy bark. The Bráhmans with (their) fire issued from thy mouth; the kings (*nripas*) from thy arm; the Vaishyas from thy thigh, and the Shúdras from thy feet.†

2. In the *Kriyá-Yoga-Sára* of the *Padma Purána*,

* Granthálaya of Shámráo Morojí, p. 59.

† Pápaprashāmanastava of *Brahma Purána*, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, 1851.

the glory and dignity of the priestly class are most emphatically set forth. "The Brahman is the supreme lord of all the Varnas. To him should largesses be given with worship and reverence. The Vipra is the sanctuary (*āshraya*) of all the gods, a visible divinity (*tridaśa*) on the earth, who ferries across the giver in the difficult ocean of the world." "All Brāhmanas are most exalted, and always to be worshipped whether learned or unlearned, of this there being no question. Those excellent Brāhmanas who are guilty of theft and the like, are offenders of themselves, not of others. Brāhmanas are lords of the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shūdras. They are lords of one another, and to be worshipped, being gods upon earth." "Whatever good man bows to a Brāhman, worshipping him as Viṣṇu, is blessed with long life, sons, fame and wealth. But whatever foolish one does not bow to a Brāhman on the earth, Keshava (Viṣṇu) desires to strike off his head with his chakra. The bearer of a drop of water which has been in contact with a Brāhman's foot has all the sins of his body thereby destroyed. Whoever carries on his head the holy things touched by a Brāhman's foot, verily, verily I say, he is freed from all sins. Whatever good man worships a Brāhman going round him, obtains the merit of going round the world with its seven Dvīpas."* In the *Bhūmi Khaṇḍa* of the same Purāṇa, the duties of the three highest castes are declared to remain obligatory, notwithstanding the progress of the Kali Yuga.†

* Padma P. Kriyā Yoga Sāra, xx.

† B. P. Bhūmi Khaṇḍa, adh. 10. Dr. Bhāu Dājī's MS.

3. Somewhat contradictory accounts of the origin of Caste are given in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. These have been evolved by Mr. Muir with his usual accuracy and ability.

“While Brahmā was meditating on creation, as formerly at the beginning of the Kalpas, there appeared an inanimate creation, composed of gloom’...This is the first creation of immoveable things. It was followed by the second, that of irrational animals...It was followed by that of the *ūrddhvasrotasas* (i. e. whose nutriment proceeds upwards) or *Dēvas*...Brahmā proceeded to create the *arvāksrotasas* (so called from the downward current of their nutriment). ‘These had abundant illumination both externally and internally; but were also full of darkness and passion....These were *men*, and they fulfilled Brahmā’s purpose.’ (V. P. 34-8.) [A more ample account has its variations.] ‘While Brahma was deeply meditating, his body became pervaded with darkness, and the demons issued from his thigh. He abandoned that body, and took another, when the gods.....proceeded from his mouth. He then assumed a third body, also pure, from which sprang the *Pitris*. ‘He next took a body distinguished by passion from which were produced *men*.’.....From another body were formed sheep from his breast; goats from his mouth; kine from his belly and sides; horses, elephants, etc. etc., from his feet.....‘These creatures as they are reproduced time after time discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in each previous creation.’ [Again another account of matters is given.] ‘When Brahmā, meditating on truth, became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness prevailed sprang from his mouth; others in whom passion predominated came from his breast; *others* in whom both passion and darkness prevailed sprang from his thighs. All these, therefore, constituted the system of the four castes, Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shūdras, who issued from his feet, thighs, breast, and mouth.....But the particle of sin created by time increased in their hearts, and they paid no regard to sacrifice. Reviling belief in the Vēdas, and the Vēdas themselves, the gods, and all sacrificial and other ceremonies, these obstructors of sacred rites and subverters of all religious action, became wicked, vicious, and perverse in their designs.’ From the next verses it would appear that up to this time the duties of the different classes had not been discriminated; the means of subsistence being provided, Brahmā, who had

formed living creatures, established ordinances for them according to their station and qualities, and the duties of the castes and orders, and the future abode of the castes who completely fulfil their duties."*

It is in vain, in cases of this kind, to ascribe the differences to descriptions of different processes in different Kalpas. "This explanation," it is properly stated by Mr. Muir, "can only avail if the Purānas themselves declare these discrepant accounts to refer to different Kalpas. Where this is not stated, the details must naturally be understood as relating to the Kalpa now existing." Other discrepancies appear in the same Purāna connected with the mind-born offspring of Brahmá, who are said not to have propagated and with the other nine mind-born sages (really Rishis of the Védas)—Bhrigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Maríchi, Daksha, Atri and Vasishtha, who are said to have afterwards developed the male Svayambhuva, and the female Shatarupa, and their off-spring—the sons Priyavrata and Uttānapáda, and the daughters Prasúti and Akúti, said to be given to Daksha and to Ruchi [reckoned in some authorities a Prajapati].† Daksha afterwards appears with a different parentage and progeny. "The illustrious prajapati Daksha, who formerly sprang from Brahmá, was born of Mārishá to the ten Prachétasas. This illustrious Daksha, fulfilling the command of Brahmá, sunk in contemplation, with the view of creating progeny for himself, produced offspring inferior and superior."

Though the traditions, myths, and legends of this Purāna thus differ from one another, they have probably been collected from older sources.

* Muir's Texts, i. pp. 20-21.

† See Wilson's V. P. p. 49, et seq.

The *Vishnu Purāṇa*, whatever may be its views of the origin of caste, very warmly maintains its importance, and clearly states its laws:—

“The supreme *Vishnu* is propitiated by a man who observes the institutions of caste, order, and purificatory practices: no other path is the way to please him.” (Here caste, it will be observed, takes the precedence.) “*Janārdhana* (*Vishnu*) is propitiated by him who is attentive to established observances, and follows the duties prescribed for his caste.” These duties are laid down as in the Law-books. The *Shūdra*, however, has the extended privilege (the reason of which is easily understood in the present state of Indian society) of giving presents to *Brāhmans*, and of offering funeral cakes without mantras.* *Brāhmans*, though they may be forced by poverty to descend to the functions of the *Shūdra*, “must at least share the functions of the mixed classes.”†

The four *A'shramas* this *Purāṇa* describes as in the *Smritis*. The rules laid down for the personal cleanness of the Householder are exceedingly minute and absurd. So are those which pertain to his domestic movements.‡ The monthly and annual *Shrāddhas* are to be conducted with all deference to caste and its customs. The castes must not too much intermingle together. “Remaining in a place where there is too great an intermixture of the four castes is detrimental to the character of the righteous. Men fall into hell who converse with one who takes his food without offering a portion to the gods, sages, the manes, spirits, and guests.” Let therefore a prudent person carefully avoid the conversation, or the contact and the like, of those heretics who are rendered impure by their desertion of the three *Vēdas*. “Let not a person treat with even the civility of speech, heretics, those who do forbidden acts, pretended saints, scoundrels, sceptics (*haiṭakas*), and hypocrites. Intercourse with such iniquitous wretches even at a distance, all association with schismatics, defiles; let a man therefore carefully avoid them.” §

Of the passage of persons from one caste to another caste,

* *Vishnu Purāṇa*, II. 8. Wilson, p. 290-2; 341.

† Wilson's *V. P.*, p. 293.

‡ Wilson, p. 301, 311, etc.

§ Wilson's *V. P.*, pp. 342, 345.

the Vishnu Purāṇa contains some legends which will be noticed onwards in connexion with the Bhāgavata.

4. In the *Shiva Purāṇa*, which has been composed for the purpose of magnifying the god of that name, it is said that Shūdras as well as the three higher castes are entitled to worship him. This is done in the temples only through the Pūjā of his emblem the Linga and (subordinately his conveyancer) the bull Nandi.* In the eighth chapter in which the privileges of the Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shūdra worshipper are brought to notice, their daily duties are summarily stated. I have already referred to the graduation in caste-observances prescribed by it in the relief of nature, and the purification of the body.†

In the *Dharma Sanhitā* appended to this Purāṇa,‡ the clothing, feeding, and enriching of Brāhmans are held to be proper and meritorious ; and the good castes are to give Dakṣhinā to Brāhmans, when attending readings at the temples of Shiva, and on other occasions.§ The following precious information on Geography in connexion with the castes is given in the same supplement. "The land of (holy) works (karmabhūmi) stretches

* This fact should be borne in mind in judging of the cave-temples of Elephanta. The groups of figures on the walls are to be considered as there only for the purposes of ornament and illustration.

† See above, p. 48.

‡ The MSS. of this Purāṇa in the possession of Dr. Bhāu Dājī and myself seem to agree with that examined by Professor H. H. Wilson. That of Dr. Bhāu however has the following Sanhitās appended to it—the Vidyēshvara, Kailāsa, Dharma, Sanatakumāra, and Vāyu.

§ Dharma Sanhitā, adh. xx.; xxix. pp. 70, 87, 93 of Dr. Bhāu's MS.

9,000 yojanas (of our kroshas or kosas) to the South of the Hemádri range. In the remote thousand yojanas of this district the Kirátas and Yavanas are established. In the intervening districts the Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras dwell. In the Plaksha Dvípa, where the áchára of the Tréta Yuga prevails, and people live ten thousand years, the castes exist in excellent state. Of the other Dvípas similar marvels are told.* In this appendix as in the Purána itself it is mentioned that the four primitive castes have the right of worshipping the Linga.†

5. The *Bhágavata* Purána is *de facto* the work of greatest authority among the Hindus of the present day, especially among those of the northern, western, and eastern parts of the country. Its popularity has arisen not only from the superiority of its style, but from its exposition and advocacy of Vedánta doctrines; and from its containing, in its tenth skandha, a summary of all the legends associated with the god Krishna. Professor H. H. Wilson says of it:—"The *Bhágavata* is a work of great celebrity in India, and exercises a more direct and powerful influence upon the opinions and feelings of the people than perhaps any other of the Puránas."‡ For "Puránas" here he might almost have substituted the words "sacred books;" for the majority of the Bráhmans seek to interpret even the Védas and Upanishads according to its teachings. Its importance has been well pointed out by the learned Mons. E. Burnouf, the able translator of its first nine skandhas.

* *Dharma-Sanhitá*, adh. xxxiii.

† Wilson's *Vishnu Purána*, p. xxv.

‡ *Ib.* xxxvi.

"This Purāṇa," he says, "being compiled from ancient documents, has preserved much information which we cannot find elsewhere ; and the genealogical lists which are in it are those which according to the opinion of such able orientalists, as Jones, Buchanan, and Colebrooke, are most to be depended upon. In fine we find either entire or partial translations of the Bhāgavata in several of the common Indian dialects, such as the Tāmūl, Telugu, and the Canarese." The tenth skandha of the work has been translated into Mārathī. It is a principal font, too, of much of the Marāthī poetry. All the influence which it has acquired is in spite of its modern origin. Burnouf acquiesces in the opinion that it was composed by Vopadēva, a learned Brāhman patronized by Hemādri, minister of Rāmachandra, the last king but one of Devagīri, whose inscriptions, as shown by Mr. Walter Elliot, are dated towards the close of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.*

Several legendary notices of the origin of caste are found in the Bhāgavata.

Two of these resemble what we have in the Purusha Sūkta.† The Brāhman [was] the mouth of Purusha, the Kshatriya his arms : the Vaishya sprung from the thighs, and the Shūdra from the feet of Bhagavān.‡ "The Brāhman is his mouth : he is Kshatriya-armed, that great one Vaishya-thighed ; and has the black caste abiding in his feet."§ Another mystical view of the case is elsewhere presented. "Brahmā, who consists of the Vēda (*Chhandasa*), for his own preservation created you [Brāhmans] who are characterized by austerity, knowledge, devotion, and chastity. For your protection the thousand-

* See Burnouf's Introduction to his Bhāg. Purāṇa, which is well worthy of special study. † An English translation of it is published in the Oriental Christian Spectator, of Bombay, for 1849.

† See before p. 118.

‡ Bhāgavata, ii. 5, 37.

§ Bhāgavata, ii. 1, 37.

footed created us [Kshatriyas] from his thousand arms: the Brāhman is called his heart and the Kshatriya his body."* An expansion of the commonly received view of the case is given in what follows:—"From the mouth of Purusha, O son of Kuru, came the *brahmā* (sacred word), and the Brāhman who, owing to his production from the same organ, became the chief and preceptor of the castes. From his arms came the *Kshattra* (protection). The Kshatriya devoted himself to that duty, and being formed from Purusha, defends the castes from the injury of their enemies. * The arts which afford subsistence to the world sprang from the thighs of the Lord: and thence was produced the Vaishya, who provided the maintenance of mankind. From the fear of Bhagavān sprang service for the fulfilment of duty: from it was formerly produced the Shūdra, with whose occupation Hari is well pleased."†

A transition from caste to caste seems recognised in several passages.

Prishadhra, it tells us, was guarding cows, and killed one of them by mistake, instead of a tiger which was carrying her away. "The family teacher cursed him, though he had transgressed involuntarily, to be in consequence of this deed no longer a *Kshatriya*, but to become a *Shūdra*."‡ This story, with variations and inconsistencies in the details, is found in several of the sacred books of the Hindus. "In regard to the sons of Manu," says Mr. Muir, "we find in the Purāṇas the following particulars: Prishadhra, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa says, "became a *Shūdra* in consequence of killing his religious teacher's cow."§ In a note Professor Wilson states that there are different versions of the offence in different Purāṇas: 'The Vāyu,' says he, was hungry, and not only killed but ate the cow'.....The Harivansha, too, states that Prishadhra having killed his Guru's cow, became a Shūdra.|| 'The obvious purport of this legend and of some that follow,' remarks Professor Wilson, 'is to account for the origin of the different castes from one common ancestor.' 'From Karúsha (another son of Manu) sprang the Kárúshas of the Kshatriya caste, the protectors of the

* Ib. iii. 23, 2-3.

† Bhāgavata. iii. 6, 39, 33. Muir's Texts i. p. 12.

‡ Bhāgavata, ix. 2-9.

§ V. P. iv. 1. 12.

|| H. V. ix. v. 659.

Northern region, pious and devoted to duty.* From Dhrishṭa (another son of Manu) sprang the Dhárshṭaka race of *Kshatriyas*, who attained *Bráhmānhood* on earth as the Bhágavata tells us.† Another son, or grandson, of Manu, was Nábhága, who, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa says, 'was the son of Nédishṭha, and became a *Vaiśhya*.‡.....The Bhágavata also says that 'another Nábhága, the son of Dīṣṭha, became a *Vaiśhya* by his works.'§ The Harivansha declares that two 'sons of Nábhágarishṭa, who were *Vaiśhyas*, became *Bráhmans*.'|| In the next section of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa another (¶) Nábhága is thus mentioned (Wilson, p. 358): 'The son of Nabhága was Nábhága; his son was Ambarīsha; his son was Virúpa; from him sprang Pṛishadashya, and from him Rathínara.' On this subject there is this verse: 'These persons descended from a *Kshatriya* stock, and afterwards known as Angirasas, were the chief of the Rathínaras, *Bráhmans* possessing also the character of *Kshatriyas*.¶¶ On this Professor Wilson annotates: 'The same verse is cited in the Váyu, and affords no instance of a mixture of character, of which several similar cases occur subsequently. *Kshatriyas* by birth became *Bráhmans* by profession; and such persons are usually considered as Angirasas as followers or descendants of Angiras, who may have founded a school of warrior-priests. This is the obvious purport of the legend of Nábhága's assisting the sons of Angiras to complete their sacrifice, although the same authority (the Bhágavata Purāṇa) has devised a different explanation. On this subject that authority says: 'Angiras, being solicited for progeny, begot on the wife of the childless Rathínara sons having the sanctity of *Bráhmans*. These persons being born of a [*Kshatriya*'s] wife, but afterwards known as the sons of Angiras, were the chiefs of the Rathítaras, *Bráhmans* possessing also the character of *Kshatriyas*.**.....Among the descendants, in the 21st generation, of Ikshváku (the most renowned of the sons of Manu) was Harita, son of Yavanashva, grandson of Ambarīsha, and great grandson of Mandhātṛi, of whom the Viṣṇu Purāṇa says that from him sprang the Angirasa Haritas.†† On this Professor Wilson observes (V. P. p. 369, note 3): "The commentator explains the phrase 'The Angirasa *Bráhmans*, of whom the Harita family was

* V. P. iv. 2-2.

• † Bhag. ix. 2-17.

‡ V. P. iv. 1-14.

§ Bhag. ix. 2, 23.

|| II. V. xi. v. 638.

¶ V. P. iv. 2. 2.

** Bhag. ix. 6. 2-3.

†† V. P. iv. 3. 5.

the chief.' The *Linga* reads, 'Harita was the son of Yuvanāshva, whose sons were the Hárítas; they were on the part (or followers) of Angiras, and were *Brāhmans* with the *properties of Kshatriyas*.* The *Váyu* has 'Harita was the son of Yuvanāshva [from whom were] many called Haritas; they were sons of Angiras, and *Brāhmans* with the *properties of Kshatriyas*†...It may be questioned if the compilers of the *Purānas* or their annotators, knew exactly what to make of this and similar phrases. The great-grandfather of Harita...Mandhātri himself, is the author of a hymn in the *Rig-Véda*.'‡

The preceding legends refer to transits in caste in the solar dynasty. Similar instances are found in the *Bhāgavata*, as in other *Purānas*, as taking place in the lunar dynasty. Indeed the *Bhāgavata* speaks of there having been originally only one caste (*Varna*). "There was formerly only one *Véda*, only one utterance, the *pranava* (OM) the essence of all speech, only one god *Náráyana*, one *Agni* (fire), and (one) Caste. From *Paruravas* came the triple *Véda* in the beginning of the *Tréta* age."§ This *Paruravas*, a king, is said to have had a contest with the *Brāhmans*, and to have had offspring who became *Brāhmans* and even *Rishis*. The legends respecting this and similar matters which have been diligently collected and collated by Mr. Muir|| are very inconsistent with one another; but they all testify to the fact that of old various persons, in consequence of alleged merit or demerit, passed from one caste to another.

But the most important matter to notice in connexion with our subject is the unmitigated spirit of Caste, and of Brahmanical pre-eminence and domination, which appears in the *Bhāgavata*.

* *Linga Purana*.

† *Váyu Purāna*.

‡ *Muir's Texts*. i. pp. 45-48.

§ *Bhāgavata* ix. 14, 48-49.

|| *Muir's Texts*. i. pp. 48-58.

“The property of Bráhmans is harder of digestion than flaming fire, when taken little by little, much more by Kings esteeming themselves god-like. I do not esteem that venom to be poison for which there is an antidote. The property of Bráhmans is real poison, of which there is no antidote in the world. Poison hurts only the eater. Fire may be quenched by water; but the fire produced from the flint of a Bráhman consumes a tribe to its (very) root.

“The property of a Bráhman acquired with reluctant consent destroys three generations. If taken by force it destroys the ten preceding and the ten succeeding generations. The foolish kings who blind by royal wealth covet Bráhman property do not look to hell the destroyer of themselves. As many as are the grains of sand wet with tears dropping from weeping Bráhmans who are liberal givers and with families, but deprived of their properties, so many years are kings with their relatives who have alienated Bráhman property cooked in the *kumbhípáka-hell*. He who carries off Bráhman property given by himself or given by others is born a worm on a dunghill for sixty thousand years. Let me not take possession of Bráhman property by seizing which kings have become short-lived, been defeated and deprived of their sovereignty, and been born again. O my followers, do not hurt a Bráhman even though he may be a delinquent. Reverence him constantly though he may be a murderer (*ghnantam*) or addicted to much swearing. As I devotedly bow to the Bráhmans at all times, so do you; whoever does otherwise shall be punished. If Bráhman property be taken even unwittingly, it thrusts the holder of it down to hell as the Bráhman's cow did to Nṛiga.”*

This remains the spirit of caste till the present day.

6. What passes as the *Nárada Purána* seems quite a fragmentary and modern work. Professor H. H. Wilson says that “it is possibly a compilation of the sixteenth or seventeenth century.”† Its contents are given by Professor Aufrecht in his Catalogue of the Postvedic

* Bhágavata, x. 64. 32-43. This passage, with the exception of a single shloka, is quoted in the Calcutta Review for 1856. Reprinted article, pp. 20, 21.

† Wilson's V. P. p. xxxiii.

Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.* It appears from them that it does not call for examination on the subject of Caste.

7. In the curious conversations of the *Márkaṇḍéya Purána*, several Caste notices occur; but generally speaking there is nothing peculiar in them.

The preservation of one's own truthfulness (*svasatyaparipálanam*) is declared to be the bráhmaṇhood (*bráhmaṇatvam*) of the Bráhmanas (Vipra).†

A bird (formerly and still a learned sage) when discoursing of transmigration, alludes to its birth at different periods, as a Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shúdra, as well as a worm, brute, and bird.‡ In a conversation between a father and a son, the precocious youth thus traces the course of transmigration upwards—a worm, a chrysalis, a butterfly, a beast, a fly, an elephant, a tree, a cow, a horse, a humped-back accursed man, a dwarf, a Chandála, a Pukkasha, a Shúdra, a Vaishya, a King, and possibly a Bráhmaṇ, the highest species of mundane being.§

In a reported conversation between Vishvámitra and the king Harishchandra, the sage is represented as saying, that “unfulfilled promises to Bráhmanas are most destructive.”|| In a dispute between Vishvámitra and Vasishtha, Brahmá says: “The Brahma-power is transcendent.”

The importance of Caste-observances is thus set forth:—“A man obtains ultimate perfection (*Siddhi*) from the duties of his own caste. He does not, if fallen, but goes to hell on death for doing what is forbidden.”¶ A Bráhmaṇ discharging his duties is said to go to the abode of Brahmá (*Prajápati*); a Kshatriya, to that of Indra; a Vaishya, to that of the Máruts; and a Shúdra to that of the Gandharvas.**

Lists of peoples and countries within the Bharatakhaṇḍa, or India,

* Cat. Cod. Man. Sans. pp. 8-9.

† Markaṇḍéya Purána, i. 3. 47. Rev. Krishna Mohan's Banarjea's, ed. p. 18.

‡ M. P. x. 20-21, p. 75.

§ M. P. i. 10, 86-90.

|| M. P. i. 7. 38. p. 38. M. P. i. 9. 20, p. 72. ¶ For a summary of these legendary discussions, see Muir's Texts, vol. i. pp. 85-94.

¶ M. P. ii. 28-9. p. 180.

** M. P. iii. 49. 77-8, p. 281.

similar to those of the *Ramáyana* and the *Dig-Vijaya* of Arjuna in the *Mahábhárata*,* are given. They are somewhat confused in their arrangement, and do not sufficiently distinguish between more ancient and more modern divisions and enumerations; but geographically and ethnologically they are still of some use. When I finally review the Indian castes and tribes as they now exist, a few of them may come under notice.†

8. The *Agni Purána* notices the Castes, including those of the *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma*, but only in a general way.‡

In the *Bhaviṣhya Purána*, as mentioned by Professor H. H. Wilson, there is some curious matter (in the last chapters,) relating to the *Magas*, silent worshippers of the sun, from *Shákadvípa*, “as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term *Magh*, and connected it with the fire-worshippers of India.”§ This matter has been extracted by Professor Aufrecht.|| The *Bráhmans*, it tells us, are in the country of the *Shákas* called *Magas*; the *Kshatriyas*, *Magasas*; the *Vaishyas*, *Mánasas*; and the *Shúdras*, *Mandagas*. There are no mixed castes connected with them. It has been the object of the writer to support the practice of the Hindu solar worship by that of Persia, without imposing a geographical limit to the Hindu worship. In other portions of this *Purána* the duties of the four primitive Castes are laid down much as in the Law Books.¶ It extends the institution of Caste even to serpents, among which are *Bráhmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas*, and *Shúdras*,—the serpentine *Bráh-*

* See before pp. 218-19, 226-28, 240, 246-50, 260-62, 266. .

† M. P. iv. 75, 82-84, pp. 322-24.

‡ *Agni Purána*, adh. 146. fol. 141 of MS. of Dr. Bháu Dájí.

§ Wilson's V. P. p. xi. || Cat. Cod. Man. Sans. p. 33.

¶ *Bhaviṣhya Purána*, Dr. Bháu Dájí's MS. fol. 76.

mans maintaining their superiority, being either white or tawny, the Kshatriyas red or yellow, the Vaishyas black or like the breast of a crow, and the Shúdras like a snake.* In one portion it represents Brahmá as protesting against the idea of caste being founded on mere birth. Its reasonings on this subject are somewhat similar to those of Ashva Ghosha the Buddhist. Brahmanhood it attributes to *tapa* and the *sanskáras*. Paráshara, it says, was born of a female Shvapáka (dog-eater), Vyása, of a fisherman's daughter; Rishishringa, of an antelope; Mandavya, of a female frog; Vashishtha, of a courtesan; Kanáda, of an ulúka (an owl); Mandapála, of a buffalo.†

9. In the portions of the *Bhavishyottara Purána* which I have seen, there is nothing worth extraction in this place. This work appears to be undetermined in its size, apocryphal additions to it being current in various parts of India.

10. The *Brahma-Vaivartta Purána*, which consists of the Brahma, Prakṛiti, Gaṇésha, and Kṛishṇa Khandas, has some caste notices which require attention.

In the account given in it of creation, we find the usual statement of the origin of the four principal castes. To mixed intercourse with one another, the *Varnasankaras*, or those of mixed caste are (fictionally) attributed. The *Gopa* (cowherd), Barber, *Bhilla*, *Modaka*, *Kubaras*, *Támbulas*, and the *Vanikjātayah* (mercantile classes) are declared to be "pure Shúdras."‡ The

* Bhavishya Purána, Dr. Bháu Dáj's MS. fol. 67.

† Bhavishya Purána, Kalpa. ix. fol. 73. of MS.

‡ But the *Bhilla* is in the *Smṛiti* of Yama (Author's MS. p. 4) reckoned one of the *Antyaja* (or one of the classes exterior by birth). See passage quoted in Goldstücker's great Dictionary, under *Antyaja*.

following table, formed from what follows, gives the alleged origin of the mixed classes:—

| <i>Caste.</i> | <i>Father.</i> | <i>Mother.</i> | <i>Explanations.</i> |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Karāṇa | ... Vaiśya | ... Shūdra | ... Kāyastha. |
| Ambaśiṭa | ... Vaiśya | ... Shūdra | ... Physician. |
| Mālākāra | ... Vishvakarma | ... Shūdra | ... Gardener. |
| Karṇakāra | ... Vishvakarma | ... Shūdra | ... Artisan-Blacksmith. |
| Shankhākāra | ... Vishvakarma | ... Shūdra | ... Shell-dresser. |
| Kavindaka | ... Vishvakarma | ... Shūdra | ... Weaver. |
| Kumbhakāra | ... Vishvakarma | ... Shūdra | ... Potter. |
| Kausakāra | ... Vishvakarma | ... Shūdra | ... Brazier. |
| Sūtrakāra | ... Vishvakarma | ... Shūdra | ... Carpenter.* |
| Chitrakāra | ... Vishvakarma | ... Shūdra | ... Painter.† |
| Svarnakāra | ... Vishvakarma | ... Shūdra | ... Goldsmith.‡ |
| Atalikākāra | ... Chitrakāra | ... Shūdra harlot | ... Architect.§ |
| Kotika | ... Atalikākāra | ... Kumbhakāra | ... House-builder. |
| Tailakāra | ... Kumbhakāra | ... Kōṭaka | ... Oilman. |
| Tivara | ... Kshatriya | ... Rājaputra | ... Fisherman. |
| Nāṭa and Dasyu | ... Dhīvara | ... Tailakāra | ... |
| Malla | ... Nāṭa | ... Dhīvara | ... Wrestler. |
| Kola | ... Nāṭa | ... Dhīvara | ... Jungle-tribe. |
| Mātara | ... Nāṭa | ... Dhīvara | ... |
| Bhaja (or Bhayda) | ... Nāṭa | ... Dhīvara | ... |
| Kalandara | ... Nāṭa | ... Dhīvara | ... |
| Chāṇḍāla | ... Shūdra | ... Brāhman | ... |
| Charṇakāra | ... Dhīvara | ... Chāṇḍāla | ... Dresser-of-skins. |
| Mānsachēḍi | ... Chāṇḍāla | ... Charṇakāra | ... Flesher. |
| Kocha | ... Dhīvara | ... Mānsachēḍi | ... |
| Kāṇḍāra | ... Kaivartta | ... Kocha | ... |
| Haḍi, or Dima | ... Nāṭa | ... Chāṇḍāla | ... Sweeper. |
| Vanacharas | ... Chāṇḍāla | ... Haḍi | ... Dwellers in the wilds. |
| Gangāputra | ... Nāṭa | ... Tivara | ... Sons of the Ganges. |
| Yogī | ... Veśadhārī | ... Gangāputra | ... |
| Shundī | ... Vaiśya | ... Tivara | ... |
| Paundraka | ... Vaiśya | ... Shundī | ... |
| Rājaputra | ... Kshatriya | ... Karāṇa | ... |
| Aḡari | ... Karāṇa | ... Rājaputra | ... Maker of Salt. |
| Kaivartta | ... Kshatriya | ... Vaiśya | ... Fisherman. |

* The Sūtrakāra, literally "a maker of string," or "a worker by string," (in Marāṭhi Sūtār), gets his designation probably either from sometimes joining planks by string, or from his using a string in planning or measuring. In the text he is said to have become degraded (from his position as a pure Shūdra) by the curse of a Brāhman (for refusing wood for a sacrifice).

† Also said to be degraded by the curse of a Brāhman (for his caricatures).

‡ Said to be degraded for stealing Brahmanical gold.

§ Degraded for his parentage.

| <i>Caste.</i> | <i>Father.</i> | <i>Mother.</i> | <i>Explanations.</i> |
|---------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| Vyādha | ... Kshatriya | ... Sarvasvi | ... Hunter. |
| Saptaputraka | ... Tivara | ... Shundī | ... Of Seven-Sons. |
| Kūdara | ... Rishi | ... Brāhmapī | ... From-a-bad-womb.* |
| Vāgatīta | ... Kshatriya | ... Vaishya | ... Forbidden-by-the-Voice.† |
| Mlécchha | ... Kshatriya | ... Shūdra | ... Tribe so called.‡ |
| Jola | ... Mlécchha | ... Kuvinda | ... Weaver?— |
| Sharāka | ... Jola | ... Kuvinda | ... |
| Vaidya | ... Ashvani Kumāra | ... Vipra | ... Mantra-physician. |
| Vyālagrāhi | ... Vaidya | ... Shūdra | ... Serpent-seizer. |
| Rajaka | ... Dhīvara | ... Tivāra | ... Washerman. |
| Kāpālī | ... Tivar | ... Rajaka | ... Coarse-weaver? |
| Sarvasvi | ... Nāpita | ... Gopa | ... |

For purposes of comparison this list is interesting. It varies considerably from the lists of Manu,§ that presented to the British Government by the Puṇā Brāhmanas,|| that given by Colebrooke in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, and that found in the Jātī-Vivēka, none of which altogether agree with one another, thus tending to establish the fictional character of the Caste arrangements, especially of those connected with what have been called the Mixed Classes.

11. The *Skanda Purāṇa* seems merely a collection of Mahātmyas, Khandas, and Sanhitās, in praise of sacred places, and in embodiment of local legends especially connected with the god Shiva. I have already made some quotations from its *Kāshī Khandā* (devoted to the glorification of Banārās) in illustration of the Brāhman view of Buddhism; and from its *Sahyādri Khandā*

* Begotten on the first of the days forbidden according to the course of nature.

† Begotten without the consent of the mother.

‡ It would appear that the authors of this Purāṇa had had a tasing of the Mumukshudan power before this entrance was made in it. In the text the Mlécchhas are spoken of as having unbroken ears, and being fearless, invincible in fight, and without A'chāra, Shaucha, or Dharma. They are said to have been begotten on a forbidden day.

§ See before pp. 54, et seq.

|| See before pp. 65, et seq.

(devoted to the West of India), from which I shall have again occasion to draw when reviewing the Hindu Castes as they now exist.

12. In the *Varáha Purána*, the decline of *Dharma*, or Religion, in the four *Yugas* is referred to. In the first age it was of four feet in stature; in the second, of three; in the third, of two; and in the fourth, of one. The proportion of religion in the *Bráhma*n is as six; in the *Kshatriya*, as three; in the *Vaishya*, as two; and in the *Shúdra*, as one.* I have not been able to find a complete copy of the *Varáha Purána* in Bombay. It would appear from the contents given of it by Professor Aufrecht, that it is not unfavorable to the initiation of even *Shúdras*.† But the mantras used by *Shúdras* cannot be those of the *Védas*.

13. The *Linga Purána*, which is the most important of those written for the glorification of the god *Shiva*, contains some express information about the institutions of Caste as it is regarded by the *Shaiva* and **Smárta* Sectaries.

The rules which it prescribes for ablutions, sippings of water, etc. correspond with those of the *Smritis*, the names of *Rudra* and *Shiva* finding in the ceremonies a special place.‡

The ceremonies of the three *Sandhyás* (at morn, noon and eve) and of the five *Maháyajnas* (great sacrifices—to *Brahmá*, the gods, men, disembodied spirits, and the *pitrís*) are enjoined on all the *Dvijás*.

In the *Satyayuga*, there was no distinction of caste, which commenced during the *Tréta*, when the *áshramas* were also instituted.§

* *Varáha Purána*, xvi. 6-7. MS. of the late Rev. R. Nesbit, p. 21.

† Catal. Cod. Manuscript. Bod. p. 59.

‡ *Linga Purána* i. *Purvárdha*, 25.

§ *Linga Purána* i. 26.

In the Nága, Soma, Gandharva, and Varuṇa regions of the Jambu dvīpa, Mlénchhas and Pulindas are to be found; on the eastern regions, the Kirátas,* on the Western, the Yavanas; and in the interior, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras. There are no castes in other dvīpas.†

From the mouth of *Pinálik* (*Shiva*, so denominated from his bow *pináka*), proceeded the Bráhmans and Brahmá; from his arms, Indra, Upéndra, and the Kshatriyas; from his thighs the Vaishyas; and from his feet the Shúdras.‡ Though the origin of the Bráhman, and of even Brahmá himself, is here changed, the Brahmanical pre-eminence still continues. The *Shiva Maṇḍala Píjā* (the worship, in a lotus-figured enclosure of a cubit in diameter,—of a betel-nut as an emblem of Shiva) is to be performed by Bráhmans and Kshatriyas, and not by Vaishyas, Shúdras, and women, or through the instrumentality of Bráhmans.§

14. In the *Vámana Purána*, it is said that other Bráhmans and Bráhmanís, even though under the defilement of the Sútika, are not to eat with Chándalas and other low castes.||

15. The *Matsya Purána*, which consists both of Vaishṇava and Shaiva material, has less connection with our subject than might have been expected.

In treating of the manes, it informs us that the *mánasa* pitris, the sons of Vasishṭha, are worshipped by the Bráhmans; that the *Haviṣmanta* pitris, in the region of Mártanḍa (the Sun), the sons of Angiras, of whom Yashodá was sprung, are worshipped by the Kshatriyas; that the *Susvadhá* pitris of the *Kámádugha* loka are worshipped by the Vaishyas. It is difficult to see the reason of these imaginary distinctions except in the desire to elevate the Bráhmanical favorite Vasishṭha.

* On the position of the Pulindas and the Kirátas, according to the Hindu literature, see the instructive Preface of Dr. FitzEdward Hall to his edition of the *Vásavadatta*, pp. 32-34. Dr. H. has happily undertaken to edit the new edition of Wilson's *Vishnu Purána*, the first volume of which has just reached India.

† *Linga Purána* i. 52. Compare this with what is said above p. 438.

‡ *Linga Purána* i. 75. 9-10.

§ *Linga Purána* ii. 20. 1-2.

|| *Vámana Purána*, Adh. xiv. 79. Dr. Bháu Dáj's MS. fol. 29.

The following story of the killing and eating of a cow, to which I have referred in my First Exposure of Hinduism, is curious. "How did Kaushika's sons obtain the supreme union (*yogamuttamam*)? In five births how did they obtain freedom from works? Sūta said: There was a holy Rishi in the Kurukshétra named Kaushika. Know the names and works of his sons—Svasripa, Krodhana, Hinsra, Pishuna, Kavi, Vāgdushṭa, and Pitṛivartī. They were the disciples of Garga. So great a famine and drought occurred that all the people became terrified. By the orders of Garga, these ascetics went into a forest to feed his milch cow. Let us (said they) kill the tawny cow; (for) we are in anguish from hunger. While they were thinking of this sinful work, the youngest son said, if it be necessary to kill her, then accomplish it in the form of a Shrāddha. If we accomplish it in the form of a Shrāddha she will certainly save us from the sin (of killing her). All agreed to the plan of Pitṛivartī the youngest (son). He, thus pleased, devoted the cow to the Shrāddha, and having put two of his brothers in the place of the gods, and three in the place of ancestors, one being a guest, he himself became the performer of the Shrāddha, and by means of the mantras, and the remembrance of his ancestors, he performed the Shrāddha. Some one (of them) then went and said to the Guru, The cow has been killed by a tiger. The seven ascetics, through the power of the Védic Mantras, escaped the fearful effects of this cruel deed. After they became the victims of time, they were born in the country of Dashārṇa. The remembrance of their caste remained with them, because they had acted in recognition of their Ancestors. Though the affair was a cruel one, it was done in the form of a Shrāddha. They were born in the family of a cruel hunter. Though this was the case, they yielded their life before Nīlakānṭha (Shiva), and by their regard for their ancestors retained their knowledge and their position as Vairāgis. In consequence of having fasted and observed the rites established for a tīrtha, the seven Yogīs became Chakravākas (Brāhmaṇī geese) on the Mānasa (lake). Hear, great Rishis, their names and their karma (as Chakravākas). (Their names are) Sumanā, Kumanā, Buddha, Chidradarshī, Sunētraka, Anētra, Anshumāna; they practised the Yoga. Three of them became breakers of the Yoga, of little mind." The story goes on to say that Pitṛivartī was born a Rājā of the Panchāla; and that the other three

brothers, who had not broken the Yoga, became his ministers. Pitri-varti was married to Santiti, the daughter of Dévala. Pitri-varti is afterwards represented as taking up the latter part of the story more in detail, and informing Rishikésa (Vishnu) in a dream that the devotees were at first *Vipramukhyáh* (Bráhmans); then hunters, deers, chakravákas, pure men, whereas those who had broken the Yoga joined the Rájá as brothers penitent (for the slaughter of the cow) and then became observers of the Yoga, by which they obtained liberation, the effects of the Shráddha thus remaining.* This story is constantly drawn on by the Bráhmans, at the celebration of Shráddhas.

Before leaving this Purána it may be mentioned that it contains the tradition of a flood which we have already found in the Bráhmanas,† though with variations.‡

16. In the second and third chapters of the first part of the *Kúrma Purána*, there is the common account of the four primitive castes, and of the four A'shramas.§

17. The *Garúda Purána*, such as it is now found to be (probably mere extracts from a larger work), and reporting alleged conversations between Vishnu and his conveyancer, is much used for popular instruction in the West of India. It is generally employed in connexion with the occurrence of serious disease and of death. It treats principally of the duties of the sick, of the world of Yama, the god of death, of the torments of the different hells, and of funeral ceremonies and shráddhas. The portions of it which refer to these subjects have

* Matsya Purána, Adh. xix. to xx; fol. of MS. of B. B. R. As. Soc. 24-26. Compare this with the Garúda Purána, Bombay edit. xiv. 17-18.

† See before, p. 167.

‡ Matsya Purána, Adh. i-ii. Of these chapters a rough translation is given in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, vol. ii. pp. 287 8; 412-14.

§ Kúrma Purána, fol. 6-7 of Dr. Bháu Dáj's MS.

lately been lithographed in Bombay. The matters relating to caste which it notices are the following:—

The party making a promise of giving anything to a Bráhmaṇ which he does not fulfil, or who calls him to get something which he does not impart, is consigned to the river, Vaitarāṇi (of hell).* The Bráhmaṇ who sells juices (*rasa*), who becomes the keeper (*pati*), of a vrishali, who kills animals without the sacrifices prescribed in the Védas, who falls from the work of the Bráhma and eats flesh or drinks spirits, who is of a furious disposition, who does not study the commands of the Shástras; the Shúdra who reads the Védas, who drinks the milk of a tawny cow,† who wears the Bráhmaṇical thread, who is the keeper of a Bráhmaṇi, who lusts for the wife of a Kshatriya, who carries off the wife of any other person, who has desires for his own daughter, and who reproaches a pure woman; and those who do what is forbidden, and who do not what is commanded, fall into Vaitarāṇi.‡ The Bráhmaṇ who seats a Dási on his couch goes to hell, and who raises offspring from a Shúdra woman falls from Bráhmaṇism. Such a wicked Bráhmaṇ is not worthy of salutation. They who do not worship Shiva, Shivá (his wife), Hari (Viṣṇu), Súra, Gaṇesha,§ and a Saḍguru, go to hell. They who do not perform pújá (material worship) undoubtedly go to hell. They who do not forbid the quarrels of Bráhmaṇs and the fighting of cows, but excite them, go to hell... They who make weapons, and bows and arrows, and who sell them go to hell. Vaishyas who sell skins, and women who sell hair, and those who sell poison, go to hell.....They who do not give cooked food to a mendicant Bráhmaṇ coming to their house, go to hell.¶ The slayer of a Bráhmaṇ becomes (in hell) possessed of the disease of consumption; the killer of a cow becomes hump-backed; the killer of a daughter becomes a leper. When these persons get another birth,

* Garuḍa Purāṇa, iv. 17. Bombay Ed.

† Tawny cows are to be given to Bráhmaṇs. Gar. Pur. viii. 60.

‡ Gar. Pur. iv. 20-23.

§ These are the gods of the *Pancháyatana* (pentad) as e.g. found in the new temple near "Breach Candy," (olim *Buruj Khirda*, the Pass of the Tower) in the Island of Bombay.

¶ Gar. Pur. iv. 36-44.

(after undergoing their punishments in hell), they become Chāṇḍālas. The killers of women and of a foetus become diseased in hell, and are next born as Pulindas. * He who has intercourse with forbidden women, becomes a eunuch, and he (who has intercourse) with the wife of his guru, gets a bad skin. He who eats flesh gets a bloody-looking skin; the drinker of spirits gets black teeth. The Brāhman who eats things not to be ate, gets a huge belly. The Brāhman who forgets the Gāyatri, and who does not perform Sandhyā, and who with a bad disposition within, appears good without, becomes a Baka (small white heron). † Giving gifts (of land) to a Brāhman has the merit of giving a thousand cows; and he who takes the (landed) property of a Brāhman, becomes a monkey (in a future birth). ‡

The setting of bulls loose, for religious consecration, for which the high technical term of *vr̥ṣabhotsarga* has been devised, is to be regulated in its own way by the different castes. The bull thus given by a Brāhman must be of qualities rarely occurring (and consequently rarely requiring from him the gift)—of red eyes, neck, horns, and hoofs, and with a white belly and black back; that given by a Kshatriya should be sleeky, and of a red colour; that by a Vaishya, of a yellow colour; and that by a Shūdra, of a black colour. §

The *Sūtaka* (period of impurity from birth or death) is limited to ten days for all sorts of persons, in the Kali Yuga. ||

The Brahmins, Vaishyas, and Shūdras, etc., who do not perform funeral ceremonies (*pr̥etakriyā*), are like Chāṇḍālas. ¶

17. What has been said by Professor H. H. Wilson about the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* is correct. The first portion of it, as stated by him, is taken from the Vāyu. The second (Uttara Khanda), as he supposed, is found in the Dakhan, a copy of it belonging to Dr. Bhāu Dāji

|| Gar. Pur. v. 3-5.

† Gar. Pur. v. 18. In verses 37-41, we have an account of the indigestibility of Brāhmaṇas' property, similar to what has been already quoted from the Bhāgavatā (p. 436, above).

‡ Gar. Pur. v. 48.

§ Gar. Pur. xii. 22-23.

|| Gar. Pur. xiii. 19. Compare this with p. 378, above.

¶ Gar. Pur. xvii. 4.

being now before me. To this unsatisfactory work there are appended a great many extravagant and lying *Mahātmyas* of so-called sacred places, etc. In the Uttara Khanda now mentioned, there is a list of the eighteen Purāṇas, among which the name of the Devībhāgavata appears as the fifteenth.*

The merit of the feeding of Brāhmins (even of thousands at a time) and the employing of them for various services in connexion with diseases and propitiations, etc., is distinctly set forth in it as in other works.† In a dialogue about a sacrifice, attributed to Agasti and another speaker, various modern personages are referred to by name, as Rāmānanda and Shankarāchārya! The Karhātaka or Karhāda Brāhmins (whom we shall soon have occasion to notice) are denounced in it as produced from the bones of camels, and said to be accursed in their origin and practices.‡ It is probably the production of some of the Dēshashtha Brāhmins, whose antipathy to the Karhāḍas is well known.

19. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, which in the Purāṇika lists is often substituted for the *Shiva*, is considered, and probably correctly so, by Professor H. H. Wilson, to be the oldest work of its class. He had seen only its first half.

It is said in it that Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shūdras, existed in the Trēta Yuga, without the distinctions of honour of the later times. The Kshatriyas are said to have got their name from *trāṇa*, preservation; and the Shūdras to have been brought to their present state from their residing near burning-grounds, and from their

* Brahmanḍa Purāṇa (Uttara Khāṇḍa), Adh. xi.

† Brahmanḍa Pur. Adh. iv.

‡ Brahmanḍa Pur. Adh. xi.

deficient heroism. The duties of the four castes are stated in the usual way. The *sthāna* (sitting place) of the *Brāhmanas* is said to be *Prajāpati*; of the *Kshatriyas*, *Indra*; of the *Vaishyas*, *Marut*; and of the *Shūdras*, the *Gandharvas*.* Defilements are treated of much as in the Law Books.†

The examination of the Purānas with a view to the objects of this work has convinced me that, as already hinted, the Law Books (to which the Purānas not unfrequently refer by name) are still considered the great authorities on the subject of Caste; though doubtless, in many instances (the most important of which we may yet have an opportunity of noticing), a usage in many parts of India has been gradually established,—especially by provincial prejudice, by the spread of sectarianism, by foreign conquest, and by national deterioration on the one hand, and progress on the other,—which is not altogether consistent with their teachings.

As the Purānas are the latest works recognized as of an authoritative character by the Hindus, I do not think it necessary for the objects of this work to refer here specially to the Upapurānas, Tantras, and Mystical and Sectarial works in the hands of sections of the people. The gleanings on the subject of Caste, which can be made from them, are neither numerous nor important. I proceed to the consideration of Caste as it now exists in the Indian life, taking such a general review as I find practicable, of the Castes and Tribes as they are now presented to our view throughout the wide extent of the Indian territories. It will be seen from our survey of them, that they are both numerous and diversified,

* Yāgy Purāṇa, Adh. viii. fol. 24 of Dr. Bhūti Dāś's MS.

† Ib. Adh. xviii.

and in many instances irreconcilably hostile to one another; and that, in the view of their actual state, to speak of an "Indian community" is almost an impropriety of speech. This remark is made with the full admission of the fact that a common understanding exists among large portions of the people of India about the subordination of the more common castes, and about the social and religious rank which their members,—independent of power, wealth, and employment,—still occupy. To what is called the "Confusion of Castes," the natives constantly appeal as a proof of the advance of the Kali Yuga. Their views of this matter they are not able to reconcile with the palpable growth of India in general enlightenment, and in physical and mechanical resources; and with the good order and peace generally prevailing throughout its extensive provinces.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

